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feel the want of English translations of German works such as Weber's Lectures and Lassen's 'Indian Antiquities,' an acquaintance with which is indeed indispensable in dealing with questions of Sanskrit Literature. From what I have seen in proof of the English edition, I may say that the translation seemed to me exceedingly well done, and that it does great credit to the gentlemen engaged on it."

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After the translation of the "Arabian Nights" was finished, Lane, since he could not be idle, arranged a volume of "Selections from the Ku-rân," with an introduction, notes, and an interwoven commentary. The book did not appear till 1843, when its author was

in Egypt and unable to correct the proofs, consequently it is defaced by considerable typographical errors, and its publication in that state was a continual source of annoyance to Lane. The notion was an excellent one. He wished to collect together all the important doctrinal parts of the Ku-rân, in order to show what the religion of Mohammed really was according to the Proprietor's own words, and he omitted all those passages which weary or disgust the student, and render the Ku-rân an impossible book for general reading. The result is a small volume, which gives the ordinary reader a very fair notion of the contents of the Ku-rân, and of the circumstances of its origin. In the latter part of the subject there is, however, room for that addition and improvement which thirty years of continued progress in Oriental research could not fail to make needful, and such alteration will be made in the new edition, which is presently to be published.—*Life of Edward William Lane*, pp 96, 97

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*Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates  
Major Amicus Veritas*

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1878  
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TO  
EDWARD LYALL BRANDRETH,  
THE OLDEST OF MY FRIENDS,  
AND  
MY FELLOW-LABOURER  
IN LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL STUDIES,  
This Volume  
IS  
DEDICATED.

LONDON, *July* 1878.



## P R E F A C E.

---

I LEFT India abruptly in 1867 under the pressure of heavy domestic affliction, a few months before my term of service was completed, and I had done my day's work. When, after a year of darkness, I found myself restored to my usual physical and intellectual vigour, my first thought was, "What can I do for India?"

I was commissioned to draft a Land-Revenue-Code for the North-West Provinces, and, when that work was done, I applied for employment, as Assistant Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department of the India Office, which happened to fall vacant. There were, however, so many gentlemen to be provided for, who had never seen India, nor knew the difference between a "*Jájr*" and a "*Jhagrát*," a "*fusul*" and a "*faisala*," that I had to fold up in a napkin my experience of a quarter of a century from the lowest to the highest grade in both Departments, and look about me for something else to do. The prospect was not encouraging. Some of my contemporaries had taken to brewing beer; another had patented a machine for blacking shoes with a rotatory brush; a third was out in Egypt managing the private estates of the Khedive; a fourth was Director of a Bank and Treasurer to a Hospital; a fifth was being yelled at in the House of

Commons; a sixth was trying petty cases as a Justice of the Peace. All old Indians must do something. So I turned back to my old love, before I went to India, and took up the skein, where I dropped it in 1842, of Language.

My stock-in-trade was a good knowledge of twelve Languages, six European, six Asiatic, a good memory, and a great passion for the study. I began by making a general and superficial survey of the whole subject of our existing knowledge, from Chinese to Anglo-Saxon, from Assyrian and Accadian to Finnic and Basque, and was astonished at the progress, that had been made, the number of subjects, the number of workers, the number of books published, the extraordinary energy, interest, and acumen displayed, the number of controversies, which were raging, and the bitterness displayed by scholars towards each other.

This survey, summary as it was, occupied me three years, and I then desired to find some more particular and specific study in one corner of the subject; and again the old feeling rose within me—"What can I do for India?"

In no department of the great Science of Language had greater progress been made than in that of the Languages of the East Indies. I feel ashamed now at my gross ignorance of the subject, when I left India. In fact, as a highly-paid public officer, I had been for twenty-five years foolishly devoting all my energies and leisure to the discharge of the duties, for which I was paid, and had thought of nothing beyond advancing the public service.



As it proved, it would have been more prudent to have dabbled in linguistic and archæological studies, served out my time, and secured the pension, which from ill-health and overtaxed energies I had forfeited. However, I found, that the information with regard to the Languages of the East Indies was scattered in a great many volumes and serials, so I first consolidated it for my own use, and now publish it, under the idea, that I am still doing something for India.

R. N. C.

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I have drawn upon my friends in England, India, and on the Continent, without compunction, and have been met in a most friendly spirit. Failing to get what I required touching the Languages of the Dutch Colonies in the Indian Archipelago, I went over to Leiden in Holland, and was rewarded by the liberal instructions of Professor Henry Kern, and Professor Veth, President of the Dutch Geographical Society. More than this: The Maps of this volume were published, with Geographical Memoirs, in the "London Geographical Magazine" of January and February 1878. Copies of these papers, the Maps, and a Provisional List of Languages, have been despatched to some of the Governments of British India, and to Holland, praying for remarks and corrections, asking for particulars in doubtful points, urging the preparation of Language-Maps on larger scale, and Dialect-Maps, for each Province, suggesting the compilation of Grammars, Comparative Grammars, and reprints of serial essays of distinguished authors. Correspondence has ensued with distinguished scholars, and willing co-operators, in every part of the field from Pesháwur to Bangkok and Batavia.

It is really astonishing to contemplate how much has been done in the last quarter of a century, how much is doing, and how much remains to be done. Colebrooke, the greatest and most accurate of scholars, remarked in 1801 that there were fifty-seven, or even eighty-four, Provinces in India, all with peculiar Languages. By the term "Language" he clearly meant "Dialects," as well as separate "Languages," and by India he meant the two Peninsulas of Nearer and Further India. Erskine Perry, to whose labours we are indebted for the first idea of a Language-Map, remarked in 1854 that the assertion of Colebrooke was exaggerated, but in 1878 we know, that the wise old man estimated the linguistic varieties under the mark, as the total of Languages and Dialects of the first six Families, now for the first time tabulated, will show three hundred names.

Different parts of the great Field have been treated at different times with wonderful ability; but knowledge has advanced with leaps and bounds, and left the authority in the rear, and the same fate will in a few years attend this compilation also. We must notice the labours of Buchanan, Leyden, Colebrooke, Marsden, Logan, Bryan Hodgson, Nathan Brown, Robinson, Stevenson, John Wilson, Max Muller, Erskine Perry, Latham, and Crawford; and in later years we have a cluster of scholars, on whose statements we can rest with confidence, such as Caldwell, Beames, Hoernle, Trumpp, John Muir, Dalton, Burnell, Bastian, Friederich Muller, and Hovelacque.

It would occupy too much space to notice the scholars, who have treated on one or two Languages only, but to some of whom we are indebted for admirable Grammars and Dictionaries; and from others we expect further and more enlarged and scientific handling of Languages, of which they have as yet only published Primers. There was a time, when we were grateful for Vocabularies, and delighted to receive short Grammatical Notes. We have got beyond that stage, and are not even satisfied with Primers, which are sufficient for a school, but not for a linguistic scholar; nor can we rest content with lists of words ranged in alphabetical order, with meanings attached to them, and called a Dictionary. Trumpp and Gundert have taught the present generation to be fastidious: it is not enough to express surprise at a grammatical idiosyncrasy or a far-fetched meaning; a sound explanation must also be supplied.

The geographical limits of this work embrace the whole of that region known for the last three centuries as the East Indies, into which Madagascar and Formosa, from linguistic necessity, have been incorporated. This region is in the possession, or under the political influence, of the English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese Governments. Any attempt to draw the line at a narrower margin failed: it was necessary to exhaust that great

Civilisation, which occupies the vast space betwixt Persia and China. A discussion of the Aryan Family of Languages naturally led on to that of the Dravidian, which owes its culture to the former. Mixed up with portions of the Dravidian, but linguistically separate, we find the Kolarian. A consideration of the Kolarian naturally leads to the vast Family of the Tibeto-Burman, which again approaches in some particulars, or was formerly deemed to approach, the Dravidian, and is indebted to whatever culture some few members of the Family possess to the Aryan. Like an island in the midst of the great Tibeto-Burman sea is the tiny Family of Khasi. The Tibeto-Burman Family is geographically blended with the two other Indo-Chinese Families, the Tai and the Mon-Anam, which, again, with the single exception of the Annamite, owe their culture to the Aryan Family. When I had exhausted them, I found a residuum of the continent of Asia, partly in the kingdom of Siam, partly possessed by the English, and partly independent, occupied by an eighth Family, the Malayan. The same impulse, which compelled me to hunt up the outlying groups of the Tibeto-Burman Family within the kingdom of China, compelled me to follow up the Groups of the great Malayan Family, passing onward "from island unto island at the gateways of the day," until I reached the coast of Africa in Madagascar, and the coast of China in Formosa. I refused to follow out the other branch of the Polynesian Family, and excluded anything with regard to Papuan, except so far as it incidentally affects the Negritos of the Indian Archipelago. Whitmee will tell us all about that in his forthcoming *Polynesia Polyglotta*.

But what authority is there for this classification? The reply is that there is none. It is obvious, that so vast a subject could only be treated in some order, and a necessity therefore arose to devise some net, which could be thrown over the whole Field, and this net was necessarily made up of the materials already existing on the authority



of the most esteemed scholars. At the best, the present scheme is provisional, and is the one which causes the least amount of difference. The nomenclature of the eight Families was carefully considered, and the reasons for the entry of certain Languages in certain Families was carefully weighed, and are set out in the narrative of each Family and Language. It was obviously necessary to get rid of such vague terms as Turanian and Allo-Phyllian, and such incorrect terms as Tamulic and Scythian, and such an unduly wide term as Non-Aryan. Time will show whether this nomenclature and grouping of Families will be accepted or amended. It has this advantage, that it is tangible, intelligible, and nearly exhaustive.

When the number of Families were settled, the graver question arose as to the number of Languages. The use of a lax phraseology had complicated the subject. The most esteemed authors use the phrases, "language," "dialect," "tongue," "form of speech," without any degree of precision. Different local names were at random applied to the same Language, drawn sometimes from the physical character of the country, such as Pahári, Purbatya, Desi; sometimes from the political divisions of the country, such as Bengáli, Gujaráti; sometimes from the name of the tribe, such as Dogri, Uriya, Chubháli, Gond; sometimes from artificial and historical causes, such as Tamil, Pushtu, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kawi. It was above all things necessary to use two words *only*—"Language" and "Dialect"—as major and minor relative terms, and to determine their relation to each other.

Assuming a Language to be the form of speech of a given population, we have to determine what amount of dialectal variation constitutes a Dialect of a Language, and what extreme degree of variation justifies the claim to be a sister-Language, instead of a child-Dialect. That variation may be of three kinds—1. Vocabulary; 2. Grammar; 3. Phonetics. It is obvious that Portuguese and Spanish rank as sister-Languages, while Venetian and

Tuscan are only Dialects of the parent Italian. We shall find, as we proceed, the difficulty, from lack of accurate diagnosis, of deciding whether Punjābi and Nepālese are Dialects of Hindi or sister-Languages. But in dealing with forms of unwritten and uncultivated speech, new difficulties arise; for clusters of clans are found speaking varying, yet obviously kindred, Languages, and it is a great practical difficulty, whether these variations, in the absence of any superior or literary standard, are to be classed as Languages or Dialects. Again, clusters of tribes are found bearing one general name; and yet, upon inquiry, it is found that the component members speak totally different and mutually unintelligible Languages. Thus, in the Tibeto-Burman Family we have the Kiranti, of which Bryan Hodgson records no less than seventeen Dialects; under the single head of Naga we have three separate Languages, each of which has Dialects. Where there exists a literary Dialect totally distinct from the common Dialect, as in Tamil, and a poetic Dialect, such as Elu with regard to Sinhalese, and an Archaic Dialect, such as "old Hindui," the Language of Chánd, and "Hindui," the Language of Tulsee Dass, differing essentially from modern Hindi, they must be noticed. It would be a mistake to suppose, that a sharp line can be drawn as the boundary of a Language. Instances may occur of half a town speaking one Language, and the other half another; but ordinarily there is a gradual shading off of one Language into another, if they are kindred Languages, or, in the case of Languages belonging to different Families, the population of the transition or neutral zone is bilingual. We read of the Balúchi Language becoming more Persianised as it approaches the borders of Persia, and of a mongrel Language spoken in the Upper Godavery District of the Central Provinces, composed of Telugu and Hindi. Occasionally, where a great river separates Religion, Race, and Language, the line may be drawn sharply, as on the Indus betwixt Pesháwur and Rawulpindi of the Punjáb Province.

As far as possible, no name is entered as a Language, or a Dialect, unless it is represented at least by a well-authenticated Vocabulary, and unless it can be pointed out with some degree of certainty within what geographical limits it is spoken. In British India we are approaching a certain degree of precision. Wherever a survey has been made, the habitat of the speakers of a Language can be indicated; but on the north-east frontier of Assam and Bengal, on the upper basin of the Irawaddy and Mekong, in the interior of the islands of the Archipelago, there is great uncertainty. Vocabularies are supplied, and no habitat can be pointed out, or the existence of a tribe with a distinct Language is pointed out, and there is no Vocabulary forthcoming. The subject is, therefore, by no means exhausted. Again, as regards classing certain Languages in Families, where there appears to be no ethnical affinity, or even local juxtaposition, a provisional classification has been doubtfully made: thus the Alfures and Negritos have been, under protest, grouped in the Malayan Family; and with regard to the Languages spoken in certain islands, I have with great hesitation, and contrary to good advice, provisionally grouped them. It is impossible, however, to say what a shipwreck, or a designed deposit of a ship's cargo of slaves, may have in ages past done, with the unintentional result of upsetting linguistic and ethnical theories.

In late years several valuable books of Vocabularies have been published, notably George Campbell's "Languages of India," Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal," Hodgson's Essays, Hunter's "Non-Aryan Languages," Lewin's "Chittagong Tribes," M'Culloch's "Munipúr Hill Tribes," Garnier's "Exploration of the Mekong," &c, &c, and some difficulty has been experienced in accounting for all these specimens, and yet it would not be satisfactory to leave any unaccounted for; at least it is admitted, that, in proportion to the number not accounted for, this book is imperfect. The difficulty arises, as regards some of the

greater collections, that they are necessarily compiled from returns made from a considerable number of districts, and by persons not possessed of linguistic or local knowledge, which would enable them to control double entries under different names, or manifestly erroneous entries. No blame whatever is attached to the compiling authority; and possibly any delay, with a view of testing the return, might have jeopardised the publication altogether. A Language-Map and a Classified List have the necessary result of compelling greater accuracy of nomenclature, and a few years later all these difficulties will disappear.

In fixing the boundary of Language-Fields, the Census Reports have supplied authoritative data, and, though perhaps not always strictly correct, at any rate such as can be accepted until corrected. The circumstance that the territory of Native Chiefs is so much intermixed with the Districts of British India, leaves room for great uncertainty, as, for instance, regarding the boundary of the Telugu Language-Field in the Nizam's territory. Beames, Caldwell, John Wilson, and Erskine Perry have contributed to this part of the subject, but it is at once admitted, that it is only a rough approximation. The same remark applies to the estimated Population of each Language-Field. With the exception perhaps of Bengáli, the whole of which Language-Field is included in one Province, and sharply defined by known boundaries, all other entries are mere approximations, even as regards the great Aryan and Dravidian Languages. As regards the Kolarian Languages, I had the advantage of Colonel Dalton's personal superintendence of the entries in the Map, which may be accepted so far as correct. The relative position of the entries of the Tibeto-Burman Family within the confines of British India may be depended upon, but the entries of the Nepál Group, the Munipúr-Chittagong Group, and Burma Group are only approximate. The same remark applies to the whole of the Tai Family. That portion of the Mon-Anam Family, which falls within the territory of British India and of the

French Colony of Saigon, may be considered correct, but the rest is approximate. The Malayan Family, being scattered in islands, has to a certain extent Language-Fields physically limited; and as regards this Family I had the inestimable advantage of the personal supervision of Professor Veth of Leiden, who marked off the Language-Fields in the greater islands. As regards the clusters of smaller islands, certain evidences are demanded to indicate approximately the nature of the Language spoken, but the whole is uncertain from the absence of surveys, and the circumstance of the interior of some of the islands being occupied by Negritos or Alfures. The Language-Map must not be judged critically, for, though great assistance was supplied by friends in India, and a great advance has been made on any previously existing Language-Map, viz, the one published by Lassen in 1853, by Erskine Perry in 1854, by the Church Missionary Society in 1859, by Beames in 1868, and Hovelacque and Schlagintheu in 1875, still it can be deemed only a further advance, and as showing the way to better things.

No one can fail to remark the singular protrusion of one Language-Field into another: this can only be explained by examining carefully prepared physical Maps, showing the hill and plain, and making out the history of the strata of colonisation. The phenomenon of the Hindi-speaking wedge in the heart of Gondwana, south of the Nerbudda, is explained by the fact of the hardy and industrious cultivators of Hindostan having pushed the Gonds out of their rich valleys into the mountain-ranges. Probably the present peaceful occupation is the result of a long struggle and bloody feuds, of which no record remains; and probably the hills and rivers and chief settlements still bear Gond names, the imperishable record of the first settlers, if indeed they were so, for it is not improbable that there were settlers even anterior to the Gonds, who, being of the Dravidian Family, may be presumed to have pushed out the earlier Kolarian hunters and nomads, as they did in

their turn the hypothetical aborigines, who preceded them also.

Another feature worthy of remark is the capricious chance, by which some tribes have kept their Language, and others have lost it. The consequence of this phenomenon is, that the ethnical and linguistic strata of the population are not parallel. The weight of evidence seems to be in favour of the fact that the Bhils and Bhars, presumably Kolarians, have lost their Language, and adopted Hindi. Unquestionably the Kuch tribe in the Terai have lost their Tibeto-Burman Language and adopted Bengali. Millions of Pagan Non-Aryans have in the course of centuries passed into Hindooism or Mahomedanism, and adopted a new Language. Some, however, have managed to keep their Language laden with a great burden of loan-words from their neighbours, more powerful and more civilised. On the other hand, we have the phenomenon of the Vernacular of the conquering race assimilating so much of the Grammar and Vocabulary of the conquered as to be sensibly affected by them. This is asserted by some to be the case of the great Aryan Lingua-franca of India, but denied, or reduced to a minimum, by others. The accession of culture from a superior race to an inferior is sometimes dangerous to the purity of a Language: the great Dravidian Languages have suffered in this way by the large infiltration of Sanskrit, though it is asserted by some, that they in their turn have influenced Sanskrit. In the same manner the Burmese, Siamese, Mon, and Kambojan, have been sensibly affected by the contact of the sacred Language of the Buddhists, the Pali, an Aryan Prakrit: on the other hand, the rude Dravidian Languages, and all the Kolarians, having come under no influence of culture, have generally escaped linguistic contact.

The distribution of Languages has been by Families, upon the basis, proved or implied, of ethnical union at some very remote period. It remains to consider the other principle of division—the morphological. The first

Family represents the Inflexive Method; the second and third, the Dravidian and Kolarian, may be considered to represent the Agglutinative Method, notwithstanding that Pope, up to this day, maintains that the Dravidian Family belongs to the same Morphological Order as the Aryan. The Khasi, Tai, and Mon-Anam Families represent the Monosyllabic Method; and the eighth Family, the Malayan, represents the Polynesian Order, which I will not discuss further here. There remains the fourth Family, the Tibeto-Burman. Such Languages of this Family as have come under the hands of grammarians have been hitherto described as Monosyllabic, but a closer consideration of the subject has led to the opinion, favoured by Max Muller and others, that it is not so, but rather that they represent a transition stage betwixt the Monosyllabic and Agglutinative methods, or may be classed among the earliest specimens of Agglutination. Much of the Vocabulary is no doubt Monosyllabic. The Chinese Language, the type of Monosyllabism, has rudimentary traces of Agglutination in the use of empty words: the Tibeto-Burman Family has advanced far beyond this, and it is the extent to which the principle of Agglutination is the rule rather than the exception that must decide the Order, to which the Language belongs.

I may here briefly state the most approved theory for accounting for the existence of these Families of Languages. Whether there existed a race anterior to those which now exist, and which has been stamped out, or absorbed beyond recognition, is uncertain. The Kolarians were first in the field in Central India, consisting of their present tribes, and those in addition who have lost their Language, like the Bhils, Bhars, and the Northern Savára, or who have become Hindooised, and passed into the lower strata of the Aryans. I will state further on the probable direction from which the Kolarians came. Next in time arrived the Dravidians from the north-west frontier, entering Sindh by the Bolan Pass, and leaving traces of their

Archaic Language in the Brahui. A connection is asserted of the Language of this Family with the Archaic Language of the second or Scythian tablet of Behistun in Persia. Last in order, but at least 2000 B.C., came the Aryans from their home on the Pamir, where they had dwelt for some period, till the time came when the Iranic branch went to the South-West, and the Indic to the South-East. The Aryans advanced down the basins of the Indus and the Ganges to the estuary of both rivers; they felt their way into the lower and middle range of the Himaláya, and up the valley of Assam; they found their way down the coast of the Bay of Bengal as far as Chikakole in the Ganjam District, across the River Nerbudda and Mahanudy into Central India, and along the West coast as far South as Goa. They appear to have chased the Kolarians to their hill-fastnesses, but they adopted a policy of peace and conciliation to the more powerful Dravidians, and imparted to them their religion and civilisation. Another stream of Aryans went by sea to Ceylon, and laid the foundation of the Sinhalese culture and Language. A third went by sea to Java, and did the same work in that island, of which a remnant exists to this day in the island of Bali.

From the plateau of Tibet, at some remote period, by the numerous passes of the Himaláya, the Cis-Himaláyan portion of the Tibeto-Burman Family flowed down into the basins of the Irawaddy, Ganges, and Brahmaputra, and across into Central India, for the Kolarians were of the same stock: the immigration may have gone on for centuries. When the Aryans poured down the basin of the Ganges, a final separation took place betwixt the two Families, and no great Tibeto-Burman nationality was ever established in that quarter. In the basin of the Irawaddy arose the great Burmese polity and civilisation.

From the same plateau of Tibet, in a long and straight course to the Gulf of Siam, at a later period flowed down, like a lava stream, the Tai immigration, cutting through the flank of the Tibeto-Burman Family, and breaking up



into three fragments the domain of the Mon-Anam Family, which must have descended from the same plateau at a period anterior to the Tibeto-Burman immigration, and after occupying the basins of the Irawaddy and the Mekong, succumbed before their more powerful successors.

The origin of the Malayan Family involves considerations of too great a length to be touched upon as a subsidiary point on this occasion. It is a received opinion, that the Malay-speaking inhabitants of the Peninsula of Malacca were immigrants from the adjoining island of Sumatra; but how they found themselves at Menangkaba, the alleged cradle of their race, remains to be decided.

I must here notice briefly a very great controversy, of first-rate importance, both from its subject-matter and the fame of the scholars who have taken part in it. William von Humboldt in his posthumous work, "*Ueber die Kawi Sprache*," arrived at the conclusion, "that Malay was the stem, from which the various Languages spoken by the brown races inhabiting the Archipelago had branched out; that all the brown races belonged to one family, the Malay; that a convulsion of nature had broken up a continent, and left a few survivors of the common race in the islands; that Malay was probably an Indo-European Language," which last assertion was more particularly pressed by the illustrious grammarian Bopp. Crawfurd brought a local experience of forty years and a knowledge of the vernaculars to bear against the theories of Humboldt and Bopp, and in the dissertation in his *Malay Grammar* (1852) denied that the brown people belonged to one race: he maintained that there were several brown races speaking distinct Languages; that there were several races of Negritos also, and that the Polynesian Languages, properly so called, were quite distinct from Malayan. There rests the controversy, involving the deepest questions of the sciences of Ethnology, Language, and Geology. It is scarcely necessary to add that Bopp's theory as to the Indo-European connection of the Malayan Family has

been condemned by all scholars of weight, in spite of their reverence to their great master in Comparative Philology. One great fact stands out, that while the Malayan Languages have had no effect whatever on the higher civilisation of the Asiatic continent, on the other hand, wherever they have been received by other islands of the Archipelago, there will be found a higher stage of civilisation.

Crawfurd and Marsden, however, admit that there is a common element in all the Languages of Oceania. It bears the same relation to the Language of the Malayan Family that the Archaic so-called Aryan does to the Indo-European Family, and, although unwritten and extinct, its former existence is inferred and established by the same arguments and inductions which have demonstrated the former existence of the Aryan parent of the Languages which bear its name. Max Muller has tried to prove a connection betwixt the Malayan and the Tai Family. Friederich Muller is totally opposed to this view. He maintains that the Malayan Family has no affinity whatever to any race now in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula; but, on the other hand, he is of opinion that they must in some very remote past have come down from the Plateau of Central Asia to the Archipelago. It is possible that they were the original, or at least the earlier, occupants of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and were pushed forward into the sea by the Tai and other Mongol races.

Another general point may be noticed, to anticipate the necessity of repetition in the narrative of individual Languages. I allude to the marked difference, which is found in some cases betwixt the literary Language of books and newspapers and the Language as spoken by the educated classes, placing out of consideration for the time the rude and debased jargon of the uneducated peasants. That there must necessarily be some difference is evidenced by the ridicule, which attaches to natives of India educated in English schools, who, in ignorance, converse in Johnsonian English. It is a question of degree rather than principle. It is

admitted by capable judges that modern Bengáli writers have gratuitously abused the power of borrowing Sanskrit words, preferring technically "tatsumuhs" to good, honest "tadbhavas," just as if we were to use pedantically in English the Latin words "fragilis" and "legalis" instead of "fragile" or "frail," and "legal" or "loyal." It is the peculiar peril, to which the Language of a race in an inferior stage of civilisation, and therefore limited in its resources of expression, is exposed to from the overbearing influence of an alien Language, the vehicle of a dominant power in religion or politics. A peril of a different kind arises, when it so happens, that the race is in a fallen state from former greatness, and suddenly finds itself in a position to re-establish itself, and would willingly ignore the lapse of centuries, and resuscitate an Archaic and dead Language. Thus the Greeks have tried, in their writings, to revivify the Greek of the classic period; the Roumanians have done the same as regards the Latin; the Bengális, as regards the Sanskrit, have acted in the same way with less show of reason, the consequence being that there is a chasm betwixt the spoken and written Dialects.

This forces upon us another consideration, as to how far the formation of new Vernaculars is still going on. Purists of all ages have objected to the absorption of foreign elements into their Language, and yet the process has steadily gone on, and the vulgarism and slang of one generation become the ordinary phraseology of the next. The more alien the Languages are to each other, the more distinctly appears the process. The Chinese have formed a Pidgeon or Business English at Hong-Kong, and have done the same for Russian at Khulja. As the Hindustáni was formed in the camp at Delhi, so we read that in the ports of Java a mongrel Malay has come into existence, and at Malacca we have a notable instance of the degradation of Portuguese. The verbs have lost their inflections, and one form acts for all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons. Adjectives become indeclinable, and, in

of a numerous but disreputable one. Arabic is the religious Language of the Mahomedans. Persian is the Language of Culture, and was till lately of the Court.

Beyond, again, lie the dead Languages, which rise up before us at every corner of the Field, with a simple enumeration of the best known of which we must content ourselves. Of the Aryan Family, Iranic branch, there is the Avesta or Old Bactrian, with its descendants the Puh-lavi, Huzvaresh, Pázand or Parsi. Of the Indic branch there is the Sanskrit in its two forms, the Vedic and the Literary, and the Prakrit-Dialects: 1. The Pillar Inscriptions; 2. the Dramatic; 3. the Gáthas of Nepál; 4. Aprabhansi; 5. Sarasvati; 6. Souraseni; 7. Maharástri; 8. Pysáchi; 9. Magadhi, or in other terms Pali; which again appears to have variations in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and possibly Kambodia. Of the Semitic Family we have two dead Languages, which have left a trace in India, the Hebrew and the Syriac. In the Polynesian Family we have the Káwi, which requires fuller notice.

Like many other nations, the Javanese were found to be possessed of an ancient and recondite Language, in which their literature and religion were enshrined. This is called Káwi, which means "refined," as contrasted to the "Jáwi" or ordinary Language. Raffles thought that it was a foreign Language of unknown origin, imported into the island. Crawford saw its connection with the Javanese, but deemed it to be a written Language of the priests. Friederich saw that it was not so, for Sanskrit occupied that position, and that Káwi was the sacred Language of the people. Von Humboldt, by a scholarlike analysis, found that it was merely an Archaic form of Javanese, plentifully interlarded with Sanskrit terms. Kern, of Leiden University, who is one of the greatest living Káwi scholars, has favoured me with the following lines, which are important, as settling the question:—

"Káwi, or more properly Old Javanese, belongs to the Polynesian Family and the Malayan branch. Next akin

to it are Malay and Sundanese; it is the parent of modern Javanese; it represents the Language, as we have it from 800 to 1400 A.D., and it has largely borrowed from Sanskrit, just as modern Javanese, Malay, and the Dravidian Languages have. The Grammar is unaffected by foreign influence; its structure and genius are thoroughly Polynesian; it is no more an artificial Language than English or Persian; it is somewhat richer in forms and more abundant in pronouns than modern Javanese, but the genius and general outline survive in the latter. The style of the literary work is highly elaborate and finished. In the poetry there is much descriptive power, less of feeling and grandeur."

When the Mahomedans occupied Java, the Hindu religion and the Brahmins took refuge in the island of Bali, which has remained Hindu to this day. There the treasures of Káwi literature have been found, though many manuscripts are found in the island of Java also, and translations of old Káwi works into modern Javanese. Grammars and Dictionaries do not exist, but most interesting texts are being published. Short descriptions have been published, and Dutch scholars have made the subject their own. The whole of the literature is thoroughly Brahmanical and Buddhist, for the professors of both faiths lived apparently in harmony together. It must be borne in mind, that both manuscripts and inscriptions in pure Sanskrit are also found. Original versions of the great Sanskrit epics are found in Káwi, which are very important in their critical bearing on the original poems as we now have them. It has a peculiar Character.

Another dead Language, used exclusively by a class of priests, is the Ahom, of the Tai Family, the remnant of the Language of the old conquerors of the valley of Assam. Vocabularies are supplied, and it has a peculiar Character. It is said to be spoken by a few priests, but it has lost all pretence to be a Vernacular.

The subject of written Characters is too large a one to

be noticed except in the most summary manner. It may be accepted as a scientific fact, that all the Characters used in the East Indies can sooner or later be traced back to the Asoka inscriptions, and through them to the Phœnician Alphabet, and thence backwards to the Hieratic Ideographs of the old kingdom of Egypt, and thence to the venerable Hieroglyphics of the fourth dynasty. The solitary exception is the Chinese Character used in Annam. Several distinguished scholars have written on separate portions of this subject, among whom we may name James Prinsep, Thomas, Burnell, Bastian, Nathan Brown, and Marsden. Many Languages have never been reduced to writing; for these it is expedient to adopt the Lepsius' Standard Roman Alphabet. Many have no peculiar Character. Of the three rival Alphabetic systems, the Indian, Arabic, and Roman, no one is without additions or adaptations enabled to represent all the sounds of the different Languages; and unfortunately the question of religion has become entangled with that of the Characters, and many Hindus object to use the Arabic Character as savouring of Mahomedanism, and few Mahomedans could be persuaded to use the Nágari, or Character of the Hindus. The number of different Characters is very considerable, and they are herewith grouped according to the Language-Family which uses, or has formerly used them, in Languages now dead. The Iranic branch of the Aryan Family has made use of Zend, Pahlavi, and adapted Arabic. The Indic branch of the Aryan Family makes use of Nágari, Kashmíri, Dogri, Gurmúkhi, Lúndi, Káyati, Mahájuni of several kinds, Nepáli, Bengáli, Asamese, Uriya, Balbódh, Modi, Gujaráti, Pali, Sinhalese, Maldive, and adapted Arabic. The Dravidian Family use the Tamil, Telugu, Malayálim, adapted Arabic, and for Sanskrit Manuscripts the Grantham; and among obsolete Characters are the Hala Kannada, Vatteluttu and Old Maldive. The Kolarian and Khasi Families have no Character. In the Tibeto-Burman we find several varieties of Tibetan, also

Limbu, Lepcha, Newári, Burmese, and Munipúri. Nearly every one of the chief Languages of the Tai Family has its peculiar Character, which gives a high idea of its culture. In the Mon-Anam Family we find the Mon, an Archaic and modern Kambojan, and the Annamite. In the Malayan Family we find the Korinchi, supposed by Marsden to have been the original Character of the Malay Language, before the adoption of the Arabic with Mahomedanism; the Batta, Rejang, and Lampung in the island of Sumatra; in Java and Bali we find the modern Javanese in use, and manuscripts and inscriptions in Sanskrit and Káwi. In Celebes we have the Bugi Character, and in the Philippines the Tagál; and now the adapted Roman and adapted Arabic are contending for possession of the uncultivated Languages, as they pass from mere vocalism into writing. The first thing is to get specimens of every variety of Character now written; this can be done in British India by the Educational officers of Government with the co-operation of the postal authorities; already one postmaster has lithographed specimens of some of the handwriting, which has found its way to the Dead-Letter Office. To this must follow careful palæographical study of the different Characters, used in manuscripts and inscriptions on rock, stone, metal, and pottery; and beyond that lies the question by what route—by land or by sea—the Asoka Alphabets found their way to India. While, on the one hand, I deprecate, as injudicious and impracticable, any attempt to supersede the established Characters of cultivated Languages by the introduction of the alien Roman Character, on the other hand, in the case of Languages, which have hitherto been unwritten, it is very undesirable to adopt a new Character, which is not able to express with accuracy every sound, and on that account Lepsius' Standard Alphabet appears to be the most convenient in every respect.

The materials, from which only such a narrative as the present can be compiled, have been collecting in a slow

and desultory manner since the beginning of this century, when Buchanan, Leyden, Colebrooke, and Marsden gave the first impetus. The Asiatic Researches, and the Journals of the different Asiatic Societies, are mines of information on every branch of the subject. The early Grammars and Dictionaries of the greater Languages were very inferior productions, and the proper study of the Vernacular Languages was notoriously neglected by the elder generation of scholars. It seemed gradually to be admitted that, of the Northern group, Hindi, Bengáli, and Maráthi were worthy of scientific study, and Tamil and Telugu of the Southern. Csoma de Koros, Hodgson, and the early Indo-Chinese scholars, drew attention to a Field previously ignored; and as years went on, Grammars of Asamese, Sonthál, Sindhi, and Gujaráti, and Grammatical Notes of many other Languages, made their appearance. Then approached the era of Collective Vocabularies, Comparative Grammars of Families, and a wonderful activity began to develop itself in every part of the Field.

To one class of labourers Science is more indebted than to any other. I allude to the Missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, who have vied with each other in letting light into dark places. The Government of India has been found ready to encourage by purchasing copies of books published at the expense, and sometimes at the loss, of the authors. The Government of Bengal has now, at my earnest request, commissioned the Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud to prepare a Comparative Grammar of the Kolarian Family. The Missionaries, and their parent Societies, felt from the first, that their only course would be to master the Language spoken by the people, and, that this labour of the pioneer might not be done over and over again by a succession of labourers, to publish the results in the shape of Grammars, Vocabularies, and Dictionaries. In many cases the servants of the State have not been backward in contributing to the good work, but it was



only in specially out-of-the-way corners of the Empire, that the necessity was brought home to them ; and it is to be feared, that in the majority of cases the servants of the State do not speak the Vernacular of the common people, but are content to use a Domestic or Official Dialect, or *Lingua-franca*, intelligible to their servants and to the habitual frequenters of the Courts. With the Missionaries, their usefulness, and very existence, depended upon their being able to be understood by, and understand, the humblest classes on the roadside and in the villages. Among the Missionaries have risen up great scholars like Caldwell, John Wilson, Gundert, Carey, Bigandet, and Pallegoix, and useful Grammarians such as Pryse, Skrefsrud, Haswell, Mason, Flex, and others. Some of the Dutch scholars have been Protestant Missionaries, and the numerous “*Arte*” of the Philippines have been prepared by the Roman Catholic Priests ; and to the same class we are indebted for the standard works of the Annamite, and the earliest works on the Tibetan and Tamil Languages. For whatever we know of the Malagasy Language we are indebted to English and French Missionaries. In reckoning up the advantages to the East Indies of the Missionary bodies, we must not forget their substantial, unsectarian, and benevolent, linguistic labours.

One great corporate body has done more than the State, more than private individuals or servants of the State, and has sustained the Protestant Missionaries in their efforts. I allude to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Setting aside for the moment the great spiritual and moral advantage of the wide dissemination of a book so remarkable and unrivalled in excellence, to no other book of any kind whatever, at any period of the world, has it fallen to be translated into such a variety of Oriental Languages, and to be disseminated so widely in such amazing numbers. As Luther’s Bible formed the standard of the previously unsettled High German, and our own Bible became the standard of modern English, so all over the East Indies,

with the exception of the Philippines and French and independent Annam, the translation of the Holy Scriptures is becoming the first, often the only, and always the typical, representative of Languages, which previously were wholly unwritten, uncultivated, and destitute of phraseology for the expression of feelings and affections. In the great Vernaculars, which already possessed a literature, the Bible, if the selection of a translator was a fortunate one, has greatly helped to fix the standard of purity and good linguistic taste; in the other Languages, the Bible has been the first expression of the power of conveying ideas to paper. It is a remarkable phenomenon, that the fountains of so many Languages and Dialects should have been unsealed just at the moment, when the intellectual, mechanical, and religious power of England and Holland were at their height, ready to undertake a task of translating the Bible into scores of Languages, for which task, even if the opportunity had offered itself, English scholars were last century as unfitted, as the Spanish and Portuguese are even now unfitted, and as unwilling to lend themselves to the task, as the Italians, French, and Russians are even now unwilling.

The plan of my work is as follows: I propose to notice briefly each Family collectively, and then each Language in that Family separately. In dealing with the great and renowned Vernaculars, it would be mere waste of time and impertinence to say much, as a reference to Beames and Caldwell is sufficient. On the other hand, some of the savage Languages are but linguistic expressions, represented by a brief, though genuine, Vocabulary, and a tolerably accurate approximate localisation. Under these circumstances, much cannot be said of them. Between these two extremes there is opportunity to throw together all that is known of the boundaries, the number, and religion of the population, the number of Dialects, the Character, the nature of Literature, if any, the linguistic provision made for the study of the Language, and the

chance of its survival in the struggle for existence. Notice is made of the existence, or not, of translations of the Bible, or any portion, as one great incidental advantage of one book having been rendered into all Languages is the extraordinary facility thus supplied of inter-comparison and contrast of the genius, the structure, the Vocabulary, the phonetic laws, and the syntax of each Language with those of other Dialects, Languages, and Families on a large scale, from texts prepared without any idea of the purpose to which they are to be applied. Besides, the easiest way of acquiring a Language is by picking out the meaning of a Gospel with the help of a Dictionary, and compelling the linguistic conscience to resolve an unintelligible group of words into that meaning, which memory has already supplied. No attempt is made to describe the Literature of a great Language: the book is meant to meet the requirements of a linguist, and not a philologist in the ordinary sense. The most interesting Languages are those which, like the Sonthál, have no Literature, and yet have developed a machinery of expression of time and mood, which a Greek might have envied. As we pass down into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago, the description of the Languages is fuller, because the subject is less familiar to ordinary readers, and the books of reference not so readily available. It is no part of my plan to supply Vocabularies or Grammatical Notes, or to enter into linguistic discussions, or to take more than a passing notice of any of the great controversies, ethnological, morphological, grammatical, and palæographical, with which the subject bristles. There is room for abundance of literary polemics, before we arrive at any finality.

It is hoped, that the Appendices may be useful to illustrate the text, and for facility of reference; the primary object of the book being to facilitate the onward march of future students, and to save them the trouble of long search for materials, for which search they may not have the same facility, as I have had, though it has occupied

a very long time, and caused a great deal of trouble to my friends at the Library of the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, to get out the scores of books, which had to be examined, extracted from, and then entered into my classified Note-Book. I might have gone on for a year longer, for the subject seemed still to be opening out, and one book makes a reference necessary to another. Such as it is, the work must now cease, leaving room for additions and corrections in future editions.

For the Language-Maps I am indebted to the labour of two kind friends, Mr. Edward Brandreth, late of the India Civil Service, and Professor Veth of the University of Leiden in Holland. It has been a work of great labour, and entailing considerable reflection, to prepare the complicated list of Languages and Dialects. This was an entirely new field of inquiry, and necessitated a careful examination of everything with regard to any Language, to take notice of any dialectal variation recorded, and then, if possible, to localise that Dialect. This portion of the work may lead to important results. The list of Authorities is but a selection of the most esteemed works out of long Lists of Books, Serial Articles, Encyclopædic Entries, and collective works on particular tracts of country. Many of these are not readily accessible, and it is of no use entering them. In my own list I have not only the name of the particular book of reference, but the Library, where it is to be found, and in the file of papers connected with each Language is an excerpt of the most important references, and in all cases volumes and pages are given. The question arose in my mind, whether I should load the margin or footnotes of my pages with hundreds of references, and I decided to make none. My readers must accept the statement on my security, or its own intrinsic worth. The Alphabetical Index of Languages, Dialects, and Characters, the Verbal Index of important Names and Subjects, and the List of Serials consulted will facilitate reference.

There remains the task of thanking my friends for all the assistance rendered, and the importunate questions answered, the Maps and Books supplied, and the interest shown. I wish particularly to thank Mr. Edward Brandreth and Dr. Reinhold Rost of the India Office Library, who have co-operated from the beginning; Professors Veth and Kern for all that is valuable in the notices of the Malayan Family; Sir Richard Temple, Bart., Governor of Bombay; Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal; Sir William Merewether, Colonel Dalton, Major Fryer, Captain Forbes, M. Feer of the Biblioteque Nationale of Paris, Professor Des Michels of the Cours Orientales, Rev. W. Wright and Rev. C. Reid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and many other Officers of Government, Missionaries, and Scholars.

THE Languages of the East Indies are provisionally divided into eight Families, upon presumed ethnological affinity.

- I. ARYAN OR INDO-EUROPEAN (a portion).
- II. DRAVIDIAN.
- III. KOLARIAN.
- IV. TIBETO-BURMAN.
- V. KHASI.
- VI. TAI.
- VII. MON-ANAM.
- VIII. MALAYAN.

Each Family will be treated of in due order.

## CHAPTER II.

### *ARYAN FAMILY.*

#### GENERAL.

OF this important Family only a portion comes under review, but in some sense the most important. That portion comprises the whole of the Indic branch, the most Eastern, and a portion of the Iranic branch. The other branches are too well known to require enumeration. No further general remarks are required on this well-worn subject except to notice, that, of the Indic branch, the first two Languages are pre-Sanskritic, and whatever may be the relation of the other ten to the Sanskrit, these two at least can have none. It is possible that there may have been an original Aryan Language, of which even Vedic Sanskrit was a cultured derivative, and to which all the Aryan Languages of Northern India whether Sanskritic, Prakritic, or Neo-Aryan, owe reverence, as to a mother; but the only bearing, which this hypothesis has upon the subject of this treatise is, that to such a venerable fount, as is thus indicated, must be traced many of the Archaic words and forms, which cannot be accounted for in Sanskrit.

#### IRANIC BRANCH.

##### PUSHTU.

I commence my review with the Iranic branch of the great Aryan Family, which is represented within the territorial limits, or the orbit of the Political Relations, of British India, by two Languages only, the Pushtu and Balúchi. The Persian Language, though used for purposes

of Literature, Society, and Politics, is not the Vernacular of any portion of the population, though used in some families and small clans.

The Pushtu, or Pakhtu, is the Language of the Afghans or Putáns, who fall under three categories, being either subjects of British India in the Province of the Punjáb, subjects of the Amir of Kabul, or enjoying a rude and lawless liberty. There are also a certain amount of Pushtu-speaking subjects of the Khan of Kelát in the district of Quettah. The limits of the Language-Field are thus defined by Raverty: It is spoken with variations in orthography and pronunciation from the valley of Pishin, South of Kandahar, to Kafiristan in the North, and from the River Helmund on the West to the Indus on the East, and, I may add, slightly beyond the Indus in the Rawulpindi Division. It extends over the plains of the Yusufzye, the hills of Bajaur, Panjkora, Swat, and Bunir, as far as Astor of Dardistan.

Dialects are given, Dir, Tirhai, Laghmáni, Pashai, Kandahári, and Pesháwuri, but there are probably many more, as upon its different frontiers it comes into contact with the Balúchi, the Persian, in several of its Dialects, the Turki, the Dardui, and the Punjábí: it is spoken by tribes living in perpetual warfare, and occupying inaccessible mountains and valleys, giving scope for a great divergence of Dialects, of which we shall know more, when we get freer access to the country.

It was maintained, that this Language was of the Semitic Family, which would have been a singular intrusion. It was attempted to explain this by the legend, that the Afghans were descended from the Ten Tribes of Israel. However, the weight of opinion of the most competent judges is in favour of a different view. The Language is undoubtedly Aryan; but, though grouped in the Iranic branch, it does, in fact, occupy an intermediate position betwixt the Indic and Iranic branches. It is an independent Language, forming the first transition from one branch to the other, partaking of the characteristics of



both with predominant Prakritic features, for it has preserved the whole cerebral row of letters, aspirates excepted. There is a large stock of pure Pushtu words derived from Prakrit sources. The whole declensional and conjugational apparatus has the closest analogy with Sindhi of the Indic branch of this Family.

It would be a mere guess to state the number of the Pushtu-speaking population beyond the frontier of British India. Within that frontier there are at least three hundred thousand: all are Mahomedan, wild and untamed, but by no means uncivilised. There is a certain amount of indigenous Literature, but Persian is the Language of the Court and Society, Arabic of their religion. Its use as a written Language is restricted, and it has no peculiar Character, using a modified form of the Arabic. The New Testament, and portions of the Old, have been translated into it in this Character. It is one of the Languages, in which the officers of Government are expected to be qualified. There is no want of linguistic books.

#### BALÚCHI.

Passing down the Indus to the sea, we come upon a population which speaks Balúchi; they are either subjects of British India in the Province of the Punjáb, and the Sindh Division of the Province of Bombay, or subjects of the Khan of Kelát, some of whom enjoy a wild and lawless liberty. Their country is bounded by Sindh and the Punjáb on the West, Afghanistan on the North, Persia on the West, and the Arabian Sea on the South, 700 miles from East to West and 300 miles from North to South. Within these boundaries, however, live a distinct race, the Bráhu, whose Language will be noticed further on. Persian is spoken by the Dehwars, who are analogous to the Tajiks, and by the Bábis. There are several Dialects. Mockler maintains, that the Makráni Balúchi on the Persian side is the real pure Language, and that the variations from this standard are Dialects; others consider the tract on the

call this last a Dialect of Persian mixed up with words of Indian origin. Very different, again, is the Dialect spoken by the hill tribes on the Solimáni frontier of the Deruh Ghazee Khan District in the Punjáb. Here each tribe has some dialectal variation. It possesses no Literature beyond ballads orally handed down. Of the number of the Balúchi-speaking population beyond the frontier of British India we have no certain information, but within that frontier there are one hundred and eighty thousand in the Punjáb, and one hundred and forty-five thousand in Sindh. They are exclusively Mahomedans. All correspondence is carried on in Persian. There is no peculiar Character. The Arabic Character has been adopted for such printed works as have appeared. Three of the Gospels have been translated into this Character. It is one of those in which the officers of Government are expected to qualify. A Grammar of this Language has appeared, and there exist also Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies, but a good deal is still required for this Language.

## INDIC BRANCH.

### GENERAL.

We now turn back to the extreme North-West corner of the Map; but before I commence the enumeration of the great Indic branch, I must notice one interesting Language, which, though of the Iranic branch, is intimately connected with the seed-plot of the Indic. I allude to the Ghalchuh Language of the valleys of Wakhan and Sirikul near the head-water of the Oxus, West and East of the Pamir. Where the Hindu-Koosh range abuts on the Pamir, the Ghalchuh-speaking tribes are in the acute angle above, while the Dards, who will be mentioned further on, are in the obtuse angle below. Beyond the Pamir the people speak Turki of the Altaic Family; so at this point

meet the Iranic, Indic, and Turki Languages, and not very far to the West is the extreme flank of the Tibeto-Burman Family. Affinities are discovered betwixt the Ghalchuh and the Dardui: the theory may be hazarded, that the ancestors of both lived together, spoke the same Language, and have since diverged: the home of the undivided Indo-Iranic stem must have been in this neighbourhood. The Indic branch passed over the Hindu-Koosh into India, and developed the great Aryan Vernaculars; the Iranic branch spread into the plains of Bactria. The Ghalchuhs and Dards remain *in situ*, retaining in their rude Languages traces of their common origin. Shaw has published Grammatical Notices of the Ghalchuh, and the subject is one fully worthy of fuller and deeper research.

Provisionally the number of Languages of the Indic branch is fixed at fourteen. It is possible that some may on further research be reduced to Dialects, and that other distinct Languages may be brought to notice.

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| I. KAFIRI.     | VIII. NEPÁLI.   |
| II. DARDUI.    | IX. BENGÁLI.    |
| III. KASHMÍRI. | X. ASAMESE.     |
| IV. PUNJÁBI.   | XI. URIYA.      |
| V. BRAHÚI.     | XII. MARÁTHI.   |
| VI. SINDHI.    | XIII. GUJARÁTI. |
| VII. HINDI     | XIV. SINHALESE. |

#### KAFIRI.

With regard to the Language of the Kafirs, our knowledge is scanty, but there is a general consensus, that it<sup>h</sup> of the Aryan Family. It is the speech of the Siah-Posh population of Kafiristan, who, amounting to about one hundred thousand, are entirely, and have always been, independent of the Ameer of Kabul. The country is said to be called Wamistan by the natives; the names, by which they are known to foreigners, are obviously derived from the prevailing colour of their dress; and their having refused to accept Mahomedanism. Their country is impregnable in a commanding position, dominating all the

mountain passes betwixt the Oxus and Indus basins. It occupies the most Western part of the independent Highlands, known as Yaghistan, from the fact, that it has never succumbed to the rulers of Kabul, Kashmír, or Bokhara, just where the summits of the Hindu-Koosh coalesce with the lofty extremity of the Himaláya. The people are quite distinct in race from the Afghans. By some they are considered to be members of the Dardu clan, differing only in being Pagans. To Trumpp of Munich we are indebted for a Grammatical Note of their Language, extracted from the lips of some Kafirs at Peshawur, as no European has ever visited the valley. It is a pure Prakritic Language, which separated from the parent stock at a very remote period. It has no Literature, no Character; and owing to the isolated life of these mountaineers in their savage independence, it may be presumed, that it is a poor Language, with but scant admixture of foreign elements. It appears to have taken a step towards decomposition by the use of casal postpositions. One hostile critic goes so far as to deny, that the parties, from whom Trumpp gleaned his knowledge, were Kafirs. At any rate, a remarkable Language is disclosed, and we must wait till further intimacy with this interesting people widens our knowledge. By the irruptions of the Afghan race, and the Mahomedan religion, they have been cut off for centuries from all communication with the other members of the Indic branch, and it is possible, that they have been affected to some extent by their Iranic neighbours. We have Vocabularies supplied by Burnes and Lumsden.

Trumpp mentions, that he has examined the Kohistáni Dialect, which is rude and akin to Kafiri, and spoken by the population of the tract adjoining the country of the Siah-Posh, and understood by them. He states that it is a Prakritic Language, and it is therefore provisionally grouped as a Dialect of Kafiri. No specimens of the Language are available.

## DARDUI.

I now come to the no less interesting inhabitants of Dardistan, a race of mountaineers, partly subjects by late conquest of the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmír, and partly in independent Yaghistan, but nearly all situated beyond the River Indus, in a nook betwixt Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Kashmír. It is a perilous position for independent tribes, as they run the risk of being absorbed into the Mahomedan kingdom of Kabul or the Hindu kingdom of Kashmír, and are open to influences, political or military, from the direction of Badakshan on the Oxus. That they will long remain independent is not probable. They have no Literature, no Character, no civilisation beyond the rudest, and their chance of survival is small. Their Language has been affected by their neighbours; for it appears that one portion of the tribe speaks a Turki Language, another a Tibeto-Burman; that of a third is blended with Pushtu, or at any rate the Dardus of Koli and Palas are bilingual; that of a fourth is tainted with Kashmíri. Their religion is chiefly Mahomedan, but there is a section, who have become Buddhists, and reside near Ladakh. The confines of Dardistan and Baltistan are also the confines of Mahomedanism and Buddhism, and of the Aryan and Tibeto-Burman Families, which last will be described further on. It is a singular feature, that both should have passed under the sovereignty of a Hindu within the last quarter of a century. The great Watershed of the Himaláyas separates them from a Hindu population. Of the number of these tribes we cannot form the remotest approximation, as they are scattered over mountains and valleys in a hitherto all but inaccessible country, where Hayward the traveller lost his life in 1870 at the hand of the Dardu Chief of Yasin. Leitner and Drew have subsequently visited Gilgit within the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmír, and to the former we

are indebted for our linguistic, and to the latter for our ethnical and political knowledge, which was previously a blank. Leitner's grammatical facts were reviewed by Trumpp, and this places our knowledge, as far as it goes, on a sure basis. Excluding the Dialects of Dah and Khajuná, which are Tibetan and Turki respectively, the remaining Dialects are pure Aryan of an Archaic stamp. Trumpp coincides in the theory of their connection with the Kafiri, and that the Aryans did not come from Central Asia in their final move upon India, but from these very mountains, in which the Kafir Siah-Posh and Dardus are found *in situ*. The Aryan Dialects of Dardui are Gurezi, Astori, and Gilgiti, within the kingdom of Kashmír; Durel, Koli, Palas, and Chilas in Yaghistan; these make up the subdivision of the Shina tribe. In the Arnyia subdivision we find the Dialects of the independent tracts of Yasin and Chitral. The Khajuná or Turki subdivision includes the independent tracts of Hunza and Naga. In addition to the pages of Leitner, and Trumpp working on Leitner's materials, we have Vocabularies by Drew, of the service of the Maharaja, Cunningham of the Indian Army, and Vigue, an English traveller. In addition to these undoubted Aryans in race and Language, Drew thinks that he detects in some of the lower classes unmistakable ethnical evidence of pre-Aryan races, though they have lost their Language, customs, and religion. It is to be hoped, that a better acquaintance will enlarge our knowledge of these interesting mountaineers.

#### KASHMÍRI.

The next Language on the list is Kashmíri, mentioned as such by Marco Polo and Abulfuzul, notorious as a sister-Language of Hindi, though perfectly unintelligible to strangers. The Language of a valley visited by Europeans in hundreds during the last thirty years, and for many centuries the seat of a local Governor, Mahomedan

or Hindu, and yet no such thing as a Grammar or Dictionary exists, either Native or European, nor did I ever meet or hear of a European, who could understand or speak it. We have imperfect Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies, put together from materials collected from exiled Kashmíris in the Punjáb, and a brief Dictionary by Elsmlié, a Medical Missionary, who was a short time in the valley. A portion of the Old Testament and the New Testament have been translated into this Language in the Nágari Character. Drew in his "Jummoo and Kashmir" supplies much general information.

The linguistic term Kashmíri is held to embrace not only the valley, but the middle range of mountains of the kingdom of Jummoo, inhabited by a race, called generally Pahári, or mountaineers, but with five well-recognised Dialects, Rambáni, Bhadarwáhi, Pádari, Doda, and Kishtwári, which are all provisionally grouped as Dialects of Kashmíri. Clearly we require the eye of a Comparative Linguist to be cast upon the materials, scanty as they are, already collected, with a view of determining these alleged affinities. An attempt was made in 1866 by the Bengal Asiatic Society to persuade the Government of the Punjáb to make some step forward, but nothing was done. I am comforted by a rumour, that Buhler, who was deputed by the Government of India to catalogue and purchase Sanskrit Manuscripts in the valley, has it in his mind to compile a Kashmíri Grammar on scientific principles. In his report he remarks, that there are three varieties of Kashmíri spoken; the form used by Brahmans, and loaded with Sanskrit loan-words; the form used by Mahomedans, and loaded with Persian and Arabic words, and affected by them in the pronunciation; lastly, the form used by women and the uneducated, which is exceedingly valuable, as giving the old local form and dialectic variations. The study of Kashmíri is of the highest importance for the Comparative Grammar of the Neo-Aryan Vernaculars, because it reveals the manner, in

which the new cases of declension were made from the old basis. A Kashmíri Scientific Grammar is, therefore, the greatest desideratum, and I have urged the Government of the Punjáb to press the subject upon the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmír.

The Puháris above alluded to are Hindus, and not numerous. The Kashmírís are chiefly Mahomedan, with a few Hindus, the celebrated Kashmíri Pundits, the finest types of the Aryan race. The population of the valley is estimated at half a million. Persian is the Language of the Court and correspondence. Dogri, which will be noticed further on, is the particular Dialect of Punjábí, used by the governing classes. There is an old-fashioned Character called the Shárada, but it is now rarely used, as the Arabic Character is usually substituted. The tradesmen use another called Thákuri.

The Puháris are backward in civilisation, rude in manner, with few wants, but the valley has been the seat of an ancient civilisation, and the summer residence of the Mogul Emperors. The people, though impoverished and degraded, are still not uncivilised. Shaw in his remarks above quoted about the Ghalchuh Language, with reference to the great difference betwixt the Aryan of Dardistan and of Kashmír, starts the theory, that the valley was colonised by a reflux wave of Aryan civilisation from the plains, after they had made considerable advance from the state, in which they had left their mountain homes. In fact, Kashmír has ever been considered an integral portion and a province of India, ethnically and linguistically, as well as from the point of view of religion and civilisation.

#### PUNJÁBÍ.

I pass on to the Punjábí Language, and under that term include the group of Dialects spoken in the Sindh-Sagur, Chuj, Rechna, Bari, and Jullundhur Doabs, and a certain portion of the tract betwixt the Rivers Sutluj and



Jumna, where an impalpable line about the longitude of Sirhind, on the watershed, which divides the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, separates what is confessedly Hindi from what provisionally is called the Panjābi Language. I confess, that this is one of the Languages, which will scarcely maintain a separate existence, but will hereafter be described as the Western branch of the Hindi Language, which will be noticed further on. Beames, of the Civil Service, the author of a Comparative Grammar of seven of the Aryan Vernaculars, admits, that it is only an old Hindi Dialect, and that its declensional and conjugational differences are only dialectic, and that its claims to be treated as a separate Language rest on the two other elements, which have to be weighed in differentiating a Dialect from a Language, the degree of divergence of its Phonetic system, and the proportion of local words in its Dictionary. While all the other Aryan Vernaculars are totally unintelligible to strangers, the officers of Government, European and Native, pass backwards and forwards from the Punjāb to Hindustan without any necessity, alleged or actual, for a test of linguistic knowledge, and it would be the merest pedantry on the part of any one to enumerate the Panjābi Language, as one of his acquirements, in addition to that of Hindi. I consider it, therefore, as the Western development of Hindi with numerous Dialects spoken in the hill and plains of the basin of the Five Rivers, which united discharge themselves into the Indus at Mithunkote.

Trumpp was employed by the Government of India at my suggestion, made in 1858, to translate the *Adi Grunth*, or Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, compiled by Nanuk, and his immediate successors. It is not often in India, that we get at the Language spoken by the people three hundred years ago. Trumpp examined the *Grunth* of Guru Govind Singh of a later date, and it will be a surprise to some to know, upon so high a linguistic authority, that this last

volume is written in pure Hindi of that period, and that the first volume is written in a Hindi Dialect, not a pure one, being full of provincialisms. Nanuk quotes largely from Kabír, and other Hindu Sectarrians, who used the Hindi Language of their time, being in opposition to the Brahmins, who used the Sanskrit only. It must not be supposed, that the Punjábi of that period was essentially the same as Hindi, and that the peculiar grammatical forms have been developed at a later date, for Trumpp also critically examined the *Junum Sakhi*, a legendary life of Nanuk, written specially for the use of the people, and notices grammatical forms, quite unknown to the Hindi, and more approaching to the Sindhi, which will be noticed further on.

Leaving the Archaic form of the Language, we find no standard form of the modern Language represented at the capital of the Province, or in the Literature. I was one of the first English officers employed in the Punjáb in 1846, and found Persian the Language of correspondence and official documents, for which the *Hindustáni*, a Dialect of the Hindi, which will be noticed further on, was insensibly substituted, and has kept its ground; and in a return attached to the Administration Report of the Punjáb for 1874-75, I find that Dialect entered as one of the Vernaculars of every District; and in that sense it is correct, but in that only, as no portion of the population of any one of the Districts within the Language-Field of the Punjábi, as above defined, can be said to have *Hindustáni* for their Vernacular. All official and educational works are published in that Dialect, as well as the native newspapers.

Beames goes so far as to say, that in every District of the Punjáb, or even every Revenue-subdivision, there is a dialectal variation. This is, perhaps, not to be taken as literally correct. No doubt there is an immense difference betwixt the Dialect of the Hills and that of the lower Doabs. At the extreme South the *Multáni* and *Uch*

Dialects are transitional to Sindhi. In the neighbouring District of Mozuffurghur is the Dialect of Jugdwáli, probably akin to Multáni. In the central Districts the great Jut race dominates, and their Dialect is called Jathki. Drew mentions a Pothwari Dialect spoken in the submontane tracts, which I have never heard of elsewhere. In the lower ranges of the Himaláya betwixt the Rivers Indus and the Ravi, are the well-known sister-Dialects of Chibháli and Dogri. They are spoken by the same race, which to the West of the River Chenab has become Mahomedan, and to the East remains Hindu, and are the dominant clan, of which the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmír is the head. Drew gives a Grammatical Note of this Dialect; it is said to differ so much (probably in pronunciation) as to be unintelligible to outsiders. All the better classes, who come in contact with Europeans, speak Hindustáni, with an accent. It has no Literature, and Persian is the ordinary vehicle of correspondence and record. The Kangra District comprises the hill country betwixt the Rivers Ravi and the Beas, beyond which Hindi proper commences. In this District the Report of the Government classes the Dialect by the vague term of Puhári, but we have Vocabularies of the Dialect of the Gudees of Chumba, a pastoral race, and of Kooloo. It may be interesting from a linguistic point of view to have further particulars of the Fields and peculiarities of the Punjáb Dialects, but if Hindi or Hindustáni is to be the standard Language, a study of the Dialects will not have much practical importance.

The population of the Punjáb proper, from the Indus to the line drawn through Sirhind on the East, inclusive of the portion of the territories of the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmír, which lies South of the middle range of the Himaláyas, amounts to about thirteen millions, of which one-half at least are Mahomedan, and the plain has been for eight hundred years under Mahomedan domination, until the time of the Sikh uprising during last century.

The whole is now included within British India or the territory of the Maharaja.

It is an error to attribute to the local variety of the Indian Character, known as Gurmukhi, because it was used to convey to paper the sacred books of the Sikh spiritual teachers, the same extension as that of the Punjábí Language. That Character is used by the Sikhs for their private correspondence, their signet rings, and sacred books. Another variety of the Indian Alphabet is in use by the Dogri-speaking population, which has been modified by the present Maharaja. A third variety, known as the Lúndi, is used by mercantile firms; a fourth, the Thákuri, is mentioned in the Kangra District: but for purposes of general Literature, official business, accounts, and correspondence, the Arabic Character has been for many centuries used, and is so still, being the official Character of the Government. The entire Bible has been translated into Punjábí; the word "Sikh" is added as an alternative description, and it is in the Gurmukhi Character, and its circulation must be limited.

#### BRÁHUI.

The Bráhui Language, which comes next on the list, has been provisionally classed in the Indic branch of the Aryan Family. The race who speak this Language are intermixed, as regards their habitat, with a totally distinct race, who speak Balúchi, described in the Iranic branch of the Aryan Family. They are entirely illiterate; not a single book exists in their Language, or specimen of their Language reduced to any form of writing. Nicholson, of the Indian Army, has lately translated a portion of Indian History into the Language, and printed it at the Commissioner's press at Kurrachi in the Arabic Character. It is one of the Languages, in which officers of Government are encouraged to qualify, and yet there is an entire absence of all appliances for acquiring the Language. It seems scarcely recognised, that the Bráhui is totally different

from the Balúchi. The Khan of Kelat is himself a Bráhu, but Balúchi is the State-Language, and he and his nobles speak both Languages. The two races intermarry, and are both Mahomedan, but the origin of the Bráhu race remains in obscurity. No Dialects are known of, and the number of the population is uncertain. Leech, of the Indian Army, as far back as 1838, published Grammatical Notes of this Language, upon which the theory was raised, that it was of the Dravidian Family, which will be noticed further on. Caldwell, in the first edition of his Comparative Grammar of that Family, supported that theory, which was combated by, among others, George Campbell in his Essay on the Ethnology of India, 1866. Mockler thinks that the Language is Scythian. However, in 1873 Bellew published a fuller Grammar as an Appendix to his "From the Indus to the Tigris," and thus enabled Caldwell to review the subject upon the new facts, and in the second edition of his Comparative Grammar to remark, that on the whole it seems to be derived from the same source as the Panjábi and Sindhi, but that it contains certain Dravidian elements, into which he enters fully, but excludes it from his list of Dravidian Languages. Thus the matter rests, but is by no means settled, and this remains as one of the problems for future Philologists, and it is to be hoped, that the Government of India will take steps to have a proper Grammar prepared, as the materials and access to the people are no longer wanting. The Language is also called Kur Gáli, or "False Speech."

We have two Vocabularies, one of Deruh Ghazee Khan in the Punjáb, and a second of Kelát. A material is thus supplied by these Vocabularies and the Grammatical Notes above alluded to for a statement of certain linguistic facts, without presuming to hazard an opinion. The Numerals "two" and "three" are Dravidian, and a few other words; but there is no sufficient resemblance in the common words of daily use, and in the Grammar, to class

it as Dravidian. It differs from that Family in the matter of Gender, and resembles the Kolarian in that particular; it has a relative pronoun. One learned Professor from Bonn assures me, that the Language is Dravidian, and another from Munich maintains, that it is Kolarian, and that this opinion is the result of personal conversation with Bráhui-speakers. To settle this point I have solicited the Government of Bombay to forward to me several copies of Nicholson's History of India in Bráhui, which I shall circulate among competent scholars.

#### SINDHI.

The Political area of Sindhi does not correspond with the Linguistic, as the populations, who speak Dialects of that Language, are found both to the right and the left. The Division of Sindh in the province of Bombay comprises the tracts on both sides of the lower course and the Delta of the River Indus, with a population of one million and three-quarters, of whom one-fifth are Hindu, and the remainder Mahomedan. On the proper right are certain portions of the territory of the independent Khan of Kelát, the population of which is Mahomedan, but of uncertain numbers. On the proper left is the Peninsula of Káchh, an independent State within the Province of Bombay, inhabited by a population of half a million, who are Hindu. The inhabitants of Sindh and Káchh are in the ordinary stage of Indian civilisation.

There is fortunately a scientific Grammar of this Language, which places our knowledge on a sure base, by Trumpp. He describes it as being more intricate and difficult than any of its Aryan sisters, and as having preserved more of the original Prakrit forms. It has not been entirely decomposed, and shorn of its inflections, like the other Vernaculars. On the other hand, Sindh was exposed to the first brunt of the Mahomedan invasion, and never recovered itself from its alien conquerors. It is flanked on its proper right by a Balúchi

population, whose Language is described above, and many of that race dwell within the Sindhi Field. Thus it has come about, that the Language has borrowed from its Iranic neighbour a system of pronominal suffixes peculiar to itself and the Pushtu above described, and it forms a link between the Iranic and Indic branches, as its geographical position would lead us to expect. Trumpp's Grammar is Comparative with the chief Aryan Vernaculars, as well as special to Sindhi. The Gospels have been translated into this Language in the Arabic and Gurmukhi Characters, and into the Káchhi Dialect in the Gujaráti Character.

The Dialects are as follows:—1. The Jathki, spoken in Kuch Gundava in Kelát throughout the level country right up to the Balúchi hills. 2. Sirai (Upper Sindh). 3. Lari (Delta). 4. Vichóli (Middle Sindh). 5. Thareli (Desert). 6. Káchhi (Káchh). 7. Jadgali (Mukran). 8. Mendh (sea-coast). Of these we have notices by Trumpp, Beames, Burton, and Hughes. Of Káchhi we have more particular information; it is a transition Dialect from Sindhi to Gujaráti, and as such interesting linguistically. John Wilson, Missionary of Bombay, remarks, that it is spoken to a small extent in the territory of the Jadegá Rajpoots in the North of Kattiawar, but is little used in any form in Literature or business. The Gospel of St. Mark was translated into it by the Chaplain of Bhoj, and published in 1834, and a copy presented by Wilson to the Rao, who remarked, that the Language was generally understood and spoken by the lower orders, but was not used for a single letter, and was not taught in the schools, being supplanted by Gujaráti. With regard to the Mendh or Mung Dialect, it is entered provisionally. Sir W. Mervether informs me, that it is neither Bráhui, Balúchi, nor Sindhi, but that the people are supposed to be early immigrants from India. It is safer, therefore, to leave the question an open one. It is spoken by fishermen.

Stack and Beames remark, that there were twelve or thirteen varieties of Characters in use in Sindh at the time of the conquest in 1842, some differing very widely from the others, and this fact is confirmed to me by Sir William Merewether, late Commissioner of the Division, Trumpp mentions, that there is a considerable amount of Literature, and he has adapted the Arabic Character with additional letters to suit the Sindhi sounds. The Language is thoroughly Prakritic, being a descendant of the coarse Aprabhansa Prakrit, and required the Indian Character; but the Mahomedan conquest swept out the Hindu religion and culture, and the converts, disdaining to use their old Character, adopted the Arabic with modifications, rude and insufficient, to represent the peculiar aspirates and cerebrals. Such of the Hindus as remained refused to use this Character, and kept up a variety of indifferent local Characters, varying from time to time. An attempt was made by the Government of Bombay to remedy this by introducing a new Character, the Nágari modified, into the schools, but the scheme was not worked out on scientific principles, and has not received popular approval. To add to the confusion, certain Missionaries committed a great blunder, and persuaded the Bible Society to publish a translation of one of the Gospels in the Gurmukhi Character, used by the Sikhs in the Punjáb. Lepsius in his "Standard Alphabet," London, 1836, notices the controversy. I hope that Trumpp's opinion, given in 1872, after a careful study of the subject, has settled the matter.

#### HINDI.

It is very difficult to notice this great Language suitably in the brief space available. It has been decided to exclude Punjábí, Nepáli, and Gujaráti from this Field, though many reasons might be brought forward for grouping them as Dialects. Even thus circumscribed, Hindi impinges on all the other great Aryan Vernaculars, melting away so



imperceptibly on each frontier into the cognate Language, that it is impossible to define the exact limit. Their boundaries having been defined, it is unnecessary to repeat them. On the side of the Himaláya, the snowy range divides the Aryan from the Tibeto-Burman Family; on the side of Nepál, an imaginary line is drawn in the Terai, and the details are totally unknown. The Language-Field of Hindi is stated to comprise 248,000 square miles, and the number of the Hindi-speaking population within the Independent States and the Provinces of the Punjáb, North-West Provinces, Central Provinces, and Bengal cannot fall short of eighty millions: these figures are mere approximations, as the precise boundaries are not known. The Language-Map, attached to the Census Report of the Central Provinces, shows how the hardy Hindi-speaker has quietly obtruded himself across the River Nerbudda into the heart of Gondwána, coming into contact with Uriya, Maráthi, and Gond. As might be supposed, the Dialects are very numerous, and vary very considerably, different opinions having been given on the subject. Hall argues, that the standard is still very unsettled, and that the schools of Agra and Benares pull different ways, one too much towards the Persian, and the other towards the Sanskrit. He denounces the Prem Sagur as a specimen of purism, which never really existed. Kellogg, on the other hand, looks on Eastern Hindi as the standard. He thinks that the Dialects may be reduced to two or three main divisions.

We have of this Language the modern standard official and educational types, as printed in books and newspapers at Agra, Benares, and Lucknow. Then we have the Archaic form, as represented in the works of Chand, of a date of at least seven hundred years; and a so-called 'old Hindi' of a much later date than the above in the writings of Kabír, the Grunth of Guru Govind Singh, and the Ramáyuna of Tulsee Dass. Trumpp proposes to call the Language of an older date than the Grunth "old Hindu-i," the Language of the Grunth "Hindu-i," and the

current Vernacular "Hindi." I proceed now to define the Dialects of this last.

Hindustáni or Urdu is not a territorial Dialect, but a *Lingua-franca*. Trumpp maintains that it is a "Mixed Hindi Language." It can scarcely be said correctly, that it is the common Language of any one District, though freely spoken by many classes. For a long time after the Mahomedan conquest, the conquerors spoke Persian, and the conquered Hindi. At length the Camp-Language became settled in the sixteenth century: to me it seems that it is essentially a Dialect of Hindi. Kellogg will not allow, that the difference betwixt Hindi and Hindustáni is in Vocabulary only (for Kabír and Tulsee Dass in their writings and the rural people in their speech to this day use Arabic and Persian words), but in grammatical forms and syntax also. Moreover, standard Hindi contains a certain proportion of loan-words, grammatical inflections, and alien linguistic influence, either Non-Aryan, proceeding from the population anterior to the Aryan immigration, or Semitic and Irano-Aryan from the Mahomedan immigration. Taking the Hindustáni of Dehli as the standard of purity, we have in Southern India another variation in the so-called Dekhani, and it is admitted, that there are points of difference in it from the Northern *Lingua-franca*. A still further degradation or dilution of the Language takes place by the admixture of Romance-Aryan words in the Dialect of the Portuguese Settlements on the West Coast of India. It may be remarked, that the other great Aryan Vernaculars are heavily charged with Arabic and Irano-Aryan loan-words, but have never developed into a *Lingua-franca* like the Hindustáni, which in some cases contains fifty per cent. of loan-words and incorporates phrases, and grammatical inflections, to a great extent.

Kellogg considers the Non-Aryan influence on the Hindi as of minor importance. This remark can hardly apply to the Dialects spoken by Tibeto-Burman and Kolarian races. He looks upon the great Dialects as collateral branches of

the old Aryan speech of India, in some instances older and less divergent from the Archaic form than the standard Hindi. The great Language-Field may geographically for convenience be broken up into the following Dialect-Fields, each containing several Dialects :—

1. Lower range of Himaláya, betwixt the Rivers Beas and the Gogra, which last is the boundary of the Tibeto-Burman Language-Field.

2. Northern plain, from the confines of the Punjábí Language-Field to the Ganges.

3. Trans-Gangetic plain, including the Nepál-Terai, as far as the Eastern frontier of the old Province of Oudh.

4. Southern plain, from the confines of Rajpootana to the Ganges, as far as the junction of the Jumna.

5. Rajpootana.

6. Bundelcund and Bhagélcund.

7. The old Benares Province, including the Nepál Terai.

8. Buhár in the Province of Bengal.

9. Valley of the Nerbudda, } in the Central Provinces.

10. Gondwána,

In the Appendix a detail of fifty-eight Dialects is given, the materials being collected from very different sources, and, as no test has been applied to differentiate the Dialects, or to limit the area within which they are spoken, this first attempt must be accepted as provisional. On the one hand, we have wild uncultivated Dialects, represented by scant Vocabularies, laden with Non-Aryan loan-words, but in structure Hindi; and we have hybrids betwixt Dravidian and Hindi, or Tibeto-Burman and Hindi. On the other hand, we have translations of the Bible in several Dialects, alleged to be of Rajpootana, made at Serampore, and never tested by use. It is clear, therefore, that the subject of the Dialects of Hindi is an open one for future linguists.

The fact is, that, owing to the very central position occupied by Hindi geographically, and the dominant political status of that Language, on all sides there seems

to be a process of other Languages passing into Hindi, which may in truth be said to be the real and original Vernacular of the Hindi people, and that all the other Aryan Vernaculars are variants of it, caused by the influence of Non-Aryan communities. It may therefore be accepted as a rule, that all Aryan Dialects, not brought home to a Sister Aryan Language, must be provisionally classed under Hindi, as a kind of common linguistic reservoir. It is necessary to make some further subdivision, and the only expedient, that I can devise, is to group them according to their being free from, or affected by, the influence of Sister-Language-Families. I strive thus to account for all names, that appear in any List or Vocabulary. The Aryan Dialects are well known. Sir J. Malcolm, however, alludes to Rangri as the Dialect of Hindi taught in the schools of Central India, and states that it prevails from the Indus to Bundelcund, from Jessulmere and Jypore to the Satpura range, and that with provincial differences the Language is the same. It is clear from this description, that by Rangri he meant at that time Dialects of Hindi, spoken all over Central India, and now resolved into separate Tribal and Political subdivisions.

Among the Semi-Dravidian Dialects we find the Chentsu, spoken in the hills of District Vizigipatam of the Madras Province; the Ramusi, Lambadi, and Korawur wandering tribes and gipsies; the Hulahi of the Chutesgurhi Division of the Central Provinces, spoken by a Gond people. There will be many others, when we come to know the fringe of tribes on the frontier of the two Language-Families.

Still more numerous are the Semi-Kolarian Dialects. The Language of the Bhils in the Bombay Province, Rajpootana, and Central India is understood to be a Dialect of Hindi. The race has lost its peculiar Language, but kept a great many words, and no doubt phonetic variations. Many persons assert, that the Bhil Language still exists, but the only Vocabulary, which I have seen, is com-

posed entirely of Hindi words. In the Central Provinces the Larya or Chutesgurhi Dialect is conspicuous, and the Nimári, and the Hulba, Purja or Tugara, and Bhuttia of Bustar. To these must be added the Dialect of the Bhogtuhs, near Pala-Mow in Chútia-Nagpore of the Bengal Province, and the Kharwar, Byga, Binjwar, Punka, Mehra, and Katya. Vocabularies are supplied.

The Semi-Tibeto-Burman Dialects of Hindi are still less known, and with reference to amount of population more important. The tendency of the hill tribes is to descend to the Terai, and adopt a form of the Hindu religion and an Aryan Dialect. Among these are the Durahi, Dah, Deuwar, Kuswar, Tharu, Bhuksa, Pakhya, and Gadi. The subject has been little studied, and in this direction lies the work of the next quarter of a century. I can only bring together scattered names, and ask local inquirers to work out the details.

The Bible has been translated into Hindi, and many of its Dialects in the Nágari and Kaithi Characters; and in the Hindustáni Dialect in Nágari, Arabic, and Roman Characters. The result of this first attempt to take stock of the Dialects of Hindi, represented actually by books or Vocabularies, is that there are five varieties in the Special Group, twenty-seven in the Aryan proper, five in the Semi-Dravidian, thirteen in the Semi-Kolarian, eight in the Semi-Tibeto-Burman: in all, fifty-eight varieties, in addition to the printed educational, Governmental, and public press, standard, which is sometimes called Khuree Boli, or High Hindi.

The Character used for Hindi and its Dialects is known as Devanágari for the Hindu sacred books. The same Character is termed Nágari for the ordinary requirements of life. A tachigraphic form of the same adopted by the writer class is called Kayasthi or Kaithi. A further degradation is used in the commercial world under the name of Suráfi or Muhájuni. Side by side with these Characters, used by Hindus exclusively, is the Arabic

## ARYAN FAMILY.

adapted form used for Hindustáni by Mahomedans, official world, and educated men of the new stamp irrespective of religion. Both the Nágari and Arabic are used in the documents issued by the State.

Several living scholars have written on the subject of Hindi, viz, Beames, Kellogg, Grouse, Hall, Bate, Hœrnle, and we may hope to see a comprehensive Essay on the dialectal variations of this great Language.

## NEPÁLI.

I have thought it best to maintain provisionally Nepáli, called also Khas, Parbatya, or Pahária, as a separate Language, though there is good show of reason for classing it as a Dialect of the Hindi. It is the Language of the Hindu Goorkha dominant race, who represent, and maintain, the independent kingdom of Nepál, lying outside British India, and paying tribute to the Emperor of China. It must in no wise be confused with any of the numerous Non-Aryan Languages, spoken in the valleys and mountains of the Himaláyas by the Tibeto-Burman race, subject to Nepál, which will be noticed further on. Hœrnle in his Essay on the Gauria Languages mentions it as a distinct Language; as far back as 1815 Aiton of the Indian Army published a Grammar, which is the only book which I have seen. The New Testament has been translated into this Language in the Nágari Character. Beames in his Indian Philology gives fifty Dialects, but three of these apparently belong to Hindi; and there remains the Palpa, spoken in the Western extremity of the valley, of which I have found neither Vocabulary nor description. The number of the population, who speak Nepáli, is quite unknown. The jealousy which prevents any European or any stranger entering Nepál, and the ignorance of the Goorkhas, has been the cause of this uncertainty, and yet the presence of so many Goorkha soldiers in the ranks of the Native Army might have led up to the acquisition of better knowledge. They use

variation of the Nágari Character. Even if it should prove upon closer examination to be only a Dialect, it is probable, that the admixture of Tibeto-Burman elements, from the contact with the numerous forms of speech surrounding it in Nepál, will present singular phenomena of phonetic changes, and possibly of grammatical forms. Vocabularies have been published.

The founder of the Goorkha dynasty emigrated from Tirhút with his clan in the fourteenth century A.D., and there is a strong resemblance between the Nepáli and the Bhojpúri Dialect of Hindi. In the Provinces of Nepál West of the Kali River it has nearly eradicated the Tibeto-Burman pre-existing Vernaculars, and, though less prevalent in the Provinces East of that River, it has even in them, as far as the Trisool Ganga, divided the empire of speech almost equally with its rivals. It is terse, simple, sufficiently copious in words, and very characteristic of the unlettered but energetic race of soldiers who use it. It is wholly Aryan in structure, and has only one-fifth of Tibeto-Burman loan-words, but some of these are the chief words of the Language. It has no Literature, and only a few trivial books, but it is spoken and written with ease and correctness, and for purposes of business is concise and clear. It is impossible to define its limits on the side, on which it melts away into Hindi. A difference of opinion exists as to why it is called Khas. One party, headed by Hodgson, maintain that there was a tribe called Khasya, barbarous mountaineers of a race essentially the same with the other Tibeto-Burman races, for their race is inscribed in plain characters on the faces of the people; the immigrants from the plains must have intermarried with the natives, and thus created a new and intermediate stock. On the other hand, Beames maintains, that the word Khas is only the Persian word for "Select," and assumed by the dominant tribe in the usual arrogant habit of conquerors, very much as the Sikhs called themselves the Khalsuh.

BENGÁLI.

The boundaries of the Language-Field of Bengáli are well marked; it is shut in by the sea, the mountains of the Kolarian Races and the Tibeto-Burman Races, and impinges on the North on Hindi, and on the South-West on Uriya. On the banks of the Mahanunda River both Hindi and Bengáli are spoken badly. The Bengáli of the Surjapur subdivision is unintelligible to any ordinary speaker of Hindi or Bengáli. On the confines of Orissa about the Subarnarekhá River, and along the Hijli coast, even to within a short distance of Midnapúr, a corrupt form of Uriya is spoken, with corrupt Bengáli. The population of Bengáli speakers is officially reported to be thirty-seven millions, a little more than half Hindu, and the remainder Mahomedan, and the whole region is within the Province of Bengal and of a very compact shape, and densely inhabited. There is a divergence of opinion on the subject of Dialects. Missionaries of standing have assured me, that there are none, but this is contrary both to analogy and experience. Beames remarks, that the cloud of dialectic forms is bewildering; that apart from the Calcutta standard of the educated class there exists among the peasantry no common standard; that a peasant of the Eastern Districts would be as unintelligible to a resident of the Central Districts, as he would be to a Marátha or Sindhi. He would class the Dialect of Central Bengal as the standard, and group the variations under the general heads of Eastern, Northern, and Southern. We have seen, how the contact with the kindred Languages of Hindi and Uriya have produced Dialects on both frontiers. Still more marked must be the effect of the contact of Kolarian and Tibeto-Burman Languages on the East and West flank, especially, when it is considered, how many millions of Non-Aryans on both sides have passed into Semi-Hinduism or Mahomedanism, carrying with them much of their ancient Vocabulary



It so happens that no great Political or Ethnical subdivisions of the Province have introduced the name of a Dialect, such as we find in Hindi, but, as a fact, we have the Dialects of Purneah, Rungpur, Kúch, Sylhet, Rabha (Pàrì), Meeyang, and Chittagong; the people are no doubt Non-Aryan, but they have adopted a debased Aryan Language with its culture and religion. Another marked Dialect is that known as Mahomedan Bengáli, in which the Bible is translated into Bengáli in Roman Characters. This Mahomedan Bengáli has not vindicated to itself the same literary status, as the Hindustáni of Northern India. It is composed of analogous elements, and is the Language of millions, but these Mahomedans were not of the upper, learned, and ruling classes, nor were they of the conquering races from the West, but debased, ignorant Non-Aryans from the East. The literary Language of Calcutta has been already mentioned; it differs from the colloquial more than is the case in any other known Language; obsolete forms are brought forward by pedantic authors, and Archaic, and even Sanskrit inflections. Much as the Dialects differ from each other, the measure of difference of the Literary Language from any one of them is much greater. The above has been pointed out by Shama Churn, a most esteemed grammarian, who mentions one fact, that Bengáli had the good luck, like the English, of having no grammatical gender, and yet the pedants are introducing it. The misfortune is, that the servants of the State learn their Bengáli from books, and expose themselves to remarks and ridicule by speaking the Language, as it is written. The real Vernacular of a country is that Language, in which the upper and middle classes converse, and to which the speech of the lower order constantly tends to approach. There is no occasion to allude to the Literature, or the linguistic works, of this great Language. It uses a peculiar and very elegant variety of the great Indian Character. On the whole, this is a very strong Language, and not in the least likely to disappear.

ASAMESE.

The Asamese is another of the Languages, regarding which a doubt arises, whether it will maintain its separate existence, or sink down to the position of a Dialect of Bengáli. At any rate, it must be carefully distinguished from the Languages of the Non-Aryan tribes, which surround the valley of Assam, which will be noticed further on. This is unquestionably an Aryan Language. We have a Dictionary by Bronson, a Missionary, who claims distinctly an individuality to this Language. The Ahoms, Shan invaders from the South, of the Tai Family, who will be mentioned further on, in spite of their long domination, have left no mark on the Language, nor have the Burmese and Kachári, members of the Tibeto-Burman Family, who will also be mentioned further on, nor the Mahomedans. It is the Language of the entire population of the Brahmapútra valley, and the people are not willing to abandon it. It is laden with Sanskrit loan-words; but the Grammar of the Asamese is quite different from Bengáli, as far apart as Italian and French from each other. The Language requires cultivation. The loan-words are used with modified meaning and pronunciation, and some are altered in form. Up to this time the Language has had no standard: the words of the Dictionary have been caught from the mouth of the people. The valley is now constituted into a separate Province of the second rank, and the officers of Government will be expected to qualify in the Language, which, though only one out of many spoken in the valley, will still be the Court Language. There is scanty Literature, though there is a peculiar Character, in which the whole Bible has been translated. It is difficult to state with precision the population, which uses Asamese as a speech. The Census Returns account for two millions, of whom under two hundred thousand are Mahomedan, and more than a million and a half are Hindu, and we may

presume that these speak Asamese. There are Vocabularies in existence. Good prose is found in the Buronjies or Histories, written about two hundred to three hundred years ago. Most of the poetic works differ so widely from the spoken Language, that the prose works are better for study; but one thing is clear, that the Language existed in its present form for centuries, and the pronunciation corresponds rather with the Hindi Language-Field, whence came the emigration of its colonists, than with that of Bengal, who had no access to the valley until after the Mahomedan invasion.

#### URIYA.

The Uriya or Utkala, or Language of Orissa, has never had fair justice done to it. The idea has ever been, that it was the Language of two Districts in the South-West of the Bengal Province, and Stirling does not hesitate to call it a tolerably pure *Basha* of Bengáli. It is now understood to be an entirely independent Language, spoken by at least eight millions, who are chiefly Hindu, over an area of sixty thousand square miles within the Provinces of Bengal, and Madras, and the Central Provinces. A large portion of this Language-Field is situated in the territory of semi-independent, and until lately quite unexplored, feudal chiefs, lying on the confines of the three Provinces. It is obvious, and admitted, that the Dialects on the frontier of the Bengáli (the Northern) and Telugu countries (the Southern) must differ considerably. The same remark applies to the Dialect of Sumbhulpúr. The Uriyas themselves state, that the Language is spoken in the greatest purity in the Hill State of Gumsúr; but considering, that this State is occupied in part by Kolarian and Dravidian tribes, this assertion may be doubted. The Language of Cuttack is no doubt the standard. The whole of the Khond country, peopled by a Dravidian people, is an enclave in the midst of the Uriya Language-Field, and the dominant classes and officials in the Khond country

are Uriya. We are informed that in one State, Kala-hundi, there is a distinct Dialect; but our knowledge is very imperfect. There is a peculiar Character, with modifications in different parts of the Field, of the Indian Family; it is the only one of the North Indian Characters, which has adopted the curvilinear form of the upper strokes, which was necessitated by the writing materials being an iron stylus and a leaf of the fan-palm; straight incised lines would have split the leaf. Uriya has a Literature, the earliest monuments of which date back three hundred years, partly synthetic, and partly analytic, indicating that it existed long before Bengáli was a fixed and settled Language. It is fairly well supplied with linguistic books. The study has never been fashionable in any of the Provinces, and, though one of the standard Languages for servants of the State, it is not likely to become popular. The Bible has been translated into this Language in the local Character.

#### MARÁTHI.

The Maráthi is one of the strong Vernacular Languages of North India. It is spoken by a population of ten millions in the Province of Bombay, the Central Provinces, and the territories of the Nizam of the Dekkan, chiefly Hindu. Beames combats the theory, that it is the lineal descendant of the Maharáshtri Prakrit, as there is as much of the Magadhi and Sauraseni Prakrits in its constitution, as of the Maharáshtri. John Wilson, in the Administration Report of 1872-73 of the Bombay Province, lays down with care the boundaries of this Language-Field, which in this case are peculiarly important, as it impinges on Gujaráti and Hindi, and several of the Dravidian and Kolárian Languages, which will be noticed further on. The boundary on the West extends along the coast from the Portuguese Settlement of Daman on the North to Goa on the South. The River Daman Gunga till its emergence from the Ghats forms its Northern limit. Above the Ghats

it follows the watershed amidst the jungle tribes to the River Tapti, and to the Satpurá range. From the neighbourhood of Gavilghur, where an offshoot commences from the Satpurá Range, the boundary runs East in the direction of Betul and Sioni, terminating to the East at the Ghats between Nagpur and Sioni, whence in a somewhat semicircular form with Nagpur for its centre, it turns Southward, Eastward, and Westward, touching on Lanji and Wairagurh, where it meets the Gond and Telugu. It then goes on to the neighbourhood of Chánda, from which place it begins to run to the West to the town of Máhur, along the River Payin Gunga, separating it from Telugu. From Máhur it runs South to the River Godaveri, whence in a very irregular line it begins to go to the South-West, touching on Bijapur, from which it goes to the River Krishna, which separates it from Kanarese, till the course of the Krishna makes a bend to the North nearly opposite Kolapur. This line then runs South-West to Goa. Now, as this line traverses a large portion of the territory of the Nizam, which is very imperfectly known, we may fairly expect some modification of these boundaries, recorded in 1872-73, when our knowledge is more precise.

Of this Language there is a Dictionary by Molesworth and Candy, with a Preface by Wilson. Of ordinary Primers there are many, and in 1868 a Student's Manual has been published by a native of India anonymously, based on scientific principles and with a Preface of importance. The Language is the vehicle of a yearly increasing Literature, and has some ancient Literature, the earliest of which dates back to 1290 A.D. The Nágarí Character is used. The ordinary terms are Balbódh and Modi. Although it possesses 20,000 words, it has admitted a great many loan-words from Arabic, Persian, as well as Sanskrit. No inscriptions are found in it. The Orthography is unfixed. It is described as copious without order, energetic without rule, and with no fixed standard of classical purity.

The Bible has been translated in the Balbódh and Modi Characters. Many authorities have pointed out its Non-Aryan features. It is said to yield one-tenth of Non-Aryan words, but a more precise knowledge of phonetic laws may possibly greatly reduce this number. The Dialects of the tableland are opposed to those of the coast below the Ghats or the Konkan. I have tried in vain to get precision. A Non-Aryan element, having a slight resemblance to that of the Kolarian Family, according to John Wilson, is found in Maráthi, and the wild tribes, by whatever name known, who dwell within the Maráthi Language-Field, retain these words, and constitute a Dialect. The tableland round Poona is the centre of the Desi, and to the South is the Dakhini. The Dialect of Nagpúri is separate. There is no doubt, that the Konkani so called is a Maráthi Dialect, but by this term is not meant the slight dialectic difference, which exists between the speech of the population of the narrow littoral in the longitude of Bombay. Proceeding South, in the country converging on the Goa territory, we find a Dialect of Maráthi, which John Wilson states is as different from Maráthi as Gujaráti is. Independently of the peculiarity of the Dialect, the Kanarese-speaking population are in this corner of the Province of Bombay intermixed with the Maráthi-speaking population in a manner very remarkable, but not without analogous instances in Europe. As regards the Konkani, we have a guide in Burnell's Dialects of South India, as he has devoted one volume to this subject. He divides the linguistic expression "Konkani" into three Dialects—1. The Northern. 2. That of the Goa territory. 3. That of a particular class of the inhabitants of South Kanara. The first requires no notice. The second, known as Goadesi or Gomantaki, is illustrated by a large Literature formed by the Jesuits, consisting of a Grammar in Portuguese, and a Christian religious book called Puran, the work of a Jesuit named Estava, said to have

been Stephens, an Englishman. This Literature is three hundred years old, and it is not often that we get a sight of the Vernacular of the people at so remote a period. The New Testament was translated in 1818 into this Dialect in the Nágari Character, and much Sanskritised. The third is spoken by the Roman Catholic community of Mangalore in the Province of Madras. It has no Literature, but Burnell has translated into it the Parable of the Sower, and the Dialect is of great linguistic interest, as displaying the action of the Dravidian Language of the coast, the Malayálim, and Tulu, which will be mentioned further on, not only on the phonetics, but on the Vocabulary of the Aryan Language. A form of the Roman Character is used, introduced by the Jesuits, but inferior to the Standard Alphabet by Lepsius. A Konkani Grammar is stated to be under preparation. Cunha Rivara has published in 1858 at Goa the interesting Portuguese linguistic works alluded to.

#### GUJARÁTI.

The Gujaráti Language is the last of the Aryan Vernaculars, which lie in one ring-fence. It is itself shut in betwixt the Sindhi, Hindi, and Maráthi, and occupies the smallest area of all, but it has been adopted, as a Language of commerce, by a large population beyond that area, and this expansion of the Language cannot be shown on the map or estimated in figures. John Wilson, in the Administration Report of the Bombay Government of 1872-73, thus defines the Language-Field: Its North boundary is the Gulf of Kachh, and a line drawn from the Eastern extremity of that Gulf through Dísa, and running to the South of the Abu mountains to the Western face of the Aravalli range on the East. Its Eastern boundary is the range of hills running from the shrine of Ambabhaváni through Champaneer to Hámp on the River Nerbudda. This river forms its Southern boundary also from Hámp to the jungles of Rájpiplá, whence it strikes to the South, its

Eastern line being that of the Sayádri Ghats till opposite Daman, where its extension to the South terminates, its Southern boundary in this direction being the Daman Gunga River. From Daman to the Gulf of Kachh, including the Peninsula of Gujarat, the ocean is the boundary. The population amounts to six or seven millions, chiefly Hindu, and civilised, in the Bombay Province of British India, or the independent territory of the Guicowar of Gujarat. This Language is largely used beyond this area in the City of Bombay, though in use it is much charged with foreign words, and its Grammar is so corrupt, as to form a dialectal variety. It is used by the Mahomedan Khojas from Kachh, the Boras, the Seths and Bhatias, Hindus from Kachh, the Marwáris, and the Parsis, who do not, like the above named, use Gujaráti as a convenient Lingua-franca over and above their own Vernacular, but substitute Gujaráti for their national Iranic Language, which is obsolete and forgotten, except as the vehicle of their Sacred Literature.

Beames remarks that, after all, Gujaráti is little more than a Dialect of Hindi; that, like the Hindi and the Punjábi, it has advanced in the course of decomposition (though not quite to the same extent, as it still retains three genders), and for this reason it has been adopted as a Lingua-franca, as the less a Language is encumbered with Grammar, the wider will be its extension, of which fact we have many obvious instances. Similarity of words with the Maráthi has been noticed, but it is asserted, that where both Languages have the same word, they derive it from a common fount of West Aryan words. It is admitted that the Literature is very poor, and has to be created, and that the Orthography is doubtful and has to be settled. There is great activity in the Native Press, and many newspapers are published in the Language. The Bible has been translated in the Gujaráti Balbódh Character, into the Suráti, and Mercantile Dialects of this Language. There are two other Dia-



lects, the Kattiawari and Ahmedabadi, and as allusion is made to transitional Dialects to Maráthi, and to Marwári, a Dialect of Hindi, it is clear, that our information on this branch of the subject is far from complete. Mention is made of Dialects spoken by the Bhils and Pauriya, hill tribes of the West Satpurá range.

The written Character used is an obvious modification, by the omission of the upper line of the Nágari, and is called the Balbódh, but it is defective in letters and clumsy in form, and might with advantage be abandoned in print. There is no sufficient Grammar or Dictionary. The loan words from Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian are numerous.

#### SINHALESE.

It would have caused surprise some twenty years ago to find Sinhalese ranked among the Aryan Languages of India, but this is a generally received fact now. The history of the colonisation of the Island of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of Sinhala, from Buhár, in the sixth century before Christ, and the subsequent introduction of Buddhism by Ananda from the same quarter, have since the publication of the *Makavanso* by Turner been confirmed by the linguistic investigations of Childers. Friedrich Muller of Vienna and others still doubt. The existence of this Language has been taken back at least two thousand years by the inscriptions found by Goldschmidt of the Archæological Survey. This places it on a much higher level than the other Aryan Vernaculars, and entitles it to rank as a Prakrit with Pali, to which it has a close resemblance. If it ever was the Vernacular of the whole island, that has long ceased to be the case. From time immemorial the North of the island has been occupied by colonies of Hindus, speaking the Tamil Language, a member of the Dravidian Family, which will be noticed further on. A line, drawn from

Ghilaw on the East Coast to Batticaloa on the West, divides the populations. The Sinhalese are Buddhists, and possessed of an ancient civilisation, amounting to one and three quarters of a million, all subjects of England in the Colonial Department. There is an abundant Literature, although Pali is the Language, in which their sacred books are written. There is no lack of linguistic books. The Bible has been translated into this Language in the Sinhalese Character. Tennant remarks, that Sinhalese compositions are free from that licentiousness, which disfigures the Indian, and the Language is so flexible, that it admits of any kind of rhythm. The Játakas of Buddha have been translated into Sinhalese, and there have been native Grammarians of repute. The Character is a distinct variation of the Indian, no doubt borrowed from Southern India, as it resembles ancient Kanarese. It is written with an iron style on palm leaves.

There are several Dialects, and they require special notice. The Elu is the Archaic form of the Language, exclusively used to this day for poetical compositions, and in consequence poetry is unintelligible to those who have not studied this Dialect. Elu books come down from the fifth century of our era. The word is a corruption of Sinhála. The difference of the modern Language is due to the number of new grammatical forms, and to the number of Sanskrit words borrowed at a late period, though these last are not used in the spoken Language of the lower classes. Another Dialect is that of the Veddahs, the descendants of the Yakko aborigines, found in the island by Vijaya. They are wild, dwelling in the forest, and Pagans, but their Language is distinctly Sinhalese, without any admixture of Sanskrit or Pali. Many no doubt of the aborigines were absorbed into the ranks of the conquerors, founding the lower castes, for, in spite of Buddhism, the Sinhalese have castes. A singular feature of the Sinhalese Language may be noted, that some of its ingredients can be traced to a higher fount than the Pali, viz.,

the Sanskrit. Another Dialect is that of the Rodiyas in the Kandyan Hills, one thousand in number, in a still lower social status and civilisation than the Veddahs. Their Language is formed of corrupt Sinhalese mixed up with unintelligible words. Vocabularies are supplied.

A more important Dialect is that which is spoken in the Maldivé group of islands, dependent upon Ceylon. It is said to contain a population of twenty thousand, with a limited amount of civilisation, converted forcibly to Mahomedanism by the Arabs. But little is known of the people or the Language, and the fullest Vocabulary is that supplied by Pyrard de Laval, an unwilling resident, as a shipwrecked captive, for several years in the commencement of the seventeenth century. Christopher visited them in 1834, and reported, that the Language is substantially the same throughout the island, but there was a dialectal variation in the Southern Islands, where there was less intercourse with foreign navigators and settlers. Different Characters are found on tombstones in the islands. A knowledge of the most ancient, called Dewehi Hakura, is nearly lost in the Northern, though still used in the Southern Atolls. They were written from left to right, and were syllabic. Inscriptions in the ordinary Arabic Character are also found. The modern Character, written from right to left, is known as Gabali Tana, and was introduced, when the islands were recovered by the Mahomedans from the Portuguese. The last nine of the old letters have been abandoned in favour of the first nine Arabic numerals. A Grammar is said to be in process of compilation.

## CHAPTER III.

*DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.*

## GENERAL.

THE second Family is the Dravidian, a name assigned to it by Caldwell, as more suitable than the old name Tamulic. Although the four great members of this Family lie compactly together in the Peninsula, yet some of the outlying members are at a very great distance to the North in the midst of Aryan populations, and one race of mountaineers approaches the banks of the River Ganges. The number of Languages of this Family amount to fourteen:—

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| I. TAMIL.      | VIII. KOTA.     |
| II. TELUGU.    | IX. KHOND.      |
| III. KANARESE. | X. GOND.        |
| IV. MALAYÁLIM. | XI. ORAON.      |
| V. TULU.       | XII. RAJMAHÁLI. |
| VI. KUDAGU.    | XIII. KEIKÁDI.  |
| VII. TODA.     | XIV. YERUKÁLA.  |

Although the Dravidians held their own, yet in process of time some of them accepted the Brahmanical civilisation of their Aryan neighbours; but the four Northern races, and two mountaineer tribes of the South, have to this day maintained their savage ways and Pagan religion. There has been and exists still a difference of opinion as to the relation of this Family to the Aryan Family. Pope in the introduction to his Tamil Handbook in 1868, states

that the more the Dravidian Languages are studied, the closer their affinity to Sanskrit will appear, and the more evident will it appear, that they have a primitive and original relationship to Aryan. He has repeated this opinion in 1876 in the "Indian Antiquary," and his opinion deserves great weight. Gover agreed with Pope. On the other hand, Caldwell, following Rask the Dane, and Norris of the Royal Asiatic Society, and supported by Friederich Muller of Vienna and Max Muller, asserts a distinct individuality to the Family, quite opposed to Sanskrit, from which, however, it has borrowed much, and to which, according to Gundert and Kittel of Madras and Stevenson of Bombay, it has lent much. Caldwell has shown, that this Family once extended over nearly all India, and Burnell adds, that geographical names in all parts of India, in spite of Sanskritised forms and false derivations, attest this fact to this day. To this day it is spoken by forty-six millions in India and Ceylon; therefore it is a Language-Family of first-rate magnitude. Caldwell admits, that of all Scythian Language-Families the Dravidian presents the most numerous, ancient, and interesting analogies to Aryan. While Pope finds Keltic affinities, Caldwell finds analogies in Semitic, Australian, and African Languages. There are three Characters, in addition to Archaic forms, employed in this Family by the six Languages, which are cultivated. Burnell, in his "South Indian Palæography," has discussed the origin of these Characters, and the relation which they bear through the Asoka alphabets, or the Archaic Vattelutto, to the Phœnician Alphabet; but on this subject there is a division of opinion.

The distinctive features of this Family are, that in its gender it distinguishes between rational and irrational objects: it has an oblique form for many of its nouns; it specialises the meaning of a root by the use of formatives: it modifies the root itself to convey different meanings and relations: it has a negative voice.

TAMIL.

The Tamil, called sometimes the Malabar, is the most Southern of the Family, and employs a peculiar Character, derived from the well-known Indian. A distinct Character, the Grantha, is used for Sanskrit manuscripts. The limits of this Language-Field are well defined. In the Madras Census Report of 1871 there is a Language-Map of that Province. Tamil is spoken from a few miles North of the city of Madras to the extreme South of the Eastern side of the Peninsula, throughout the plains of the Karnatic or country below the Ghats, from Pulicat to Cape Comorin, and from the Ghats to the Bay of Bengal. It is also spoken in the Southern portion of the independent kingdom of Travancore on the Western side of the Ghats, from Cape Comorin to the neighbourhood of Trivandrum, and in the Northern parts of the island of Ceylon as far as a line drawn across the island from Ghilaw to Batticaloa. The extension is even beyond this line, as the labourers in the coffee plantations in the Candy Hills, who are immigrants rather than settlers, speak Tamil. It is also the Language of the domestic servants of Europeans throughout the Province of Madras. Add to this, that the majority of the immigrants from the Peninsula into British Burma and the Straits Settlements, known as Klings or Kalingahs, are Tamil-speakers, and so also are a large proportion of the emigrant coolies to the Mauritius and West Indies. Caldwell estimates the total number at fourteen and a half millions, chiefly Hindu. It is the oldest, richest, and most highly organised of the Dravidian Languages, exceedingly rich in Vocabulary, and cultivated from a very remote period. Shen Tamil is the literary Dialect, and used for poetry. Kodun Tamil is the standard used for ordinary purposes. They are sufficiently distinct to require separate study. A very considerable Literature exists in this Language, among which are native gram-

matical works. The study of Sanskrit, and the Hindu culture, have left their mark on the Language. Its earliest Literature dates back to the eighth or ninth century of our era. The whole Bible has been translated in the Tamil Character. The famous Grammar of the Jesuit Beschi led the way, and the Comparative Grammar of Caldwell leaves little to be desired for the study of this Language, which is a strong Vernacular, not likely to be supplanted. Three less important Dialects are recorded, two spoken by a scant population of Pagan hill-men in the Neilgherries, the Irular and Kurubar, and one by the Male-arasas, wild Pagan hill-men on the Northern slopes of the Anamulli range. Burnell, in his "Dialects of South India," notices the Dialect of Tanjore, and the Dialect of the Brahmins of Tanjore. There is also a Dialect spoken by the Vellulers of the Shervarog Hills.

#### TELUGU.

Next on the list of Dravidian Languages is the Telugu or Telinga. It ranks next to Tamil in respect of culture and glossarial copiousness, and surpasses it in euphonic sweetness. It used to be called the Gentoo, but this term has disappeared. It is spoken by the people of the Northern Circars, Kurnool, Cuddapah, part of North Arcot, Nellore, and some parts of Bellary in the Madras Province, and in a portion of the Nizam's territory, and the Central Provinces. It ranges from Pulicat, where it meets Tamil, to Chicacole, where it yields to Uriya. Inland it extends as far as the Eastern boundary of the Maráthi country and Mysore. A large portion of Telugu-speakers have intruded themselves within the Tamil Language-Field, and there are some in the independent territory of Mysore. Caldwell reckons the whole number at fifteen millions and a half, but all calculations respecting the Nizam's territory are uncertain. No Dialects are recorded by grammarians, but the Language-Field impinges on the Uriya and Maráthi of the Aryan Family, and the Gond and Khond,

uncultured members of the Dravidian, and the Savára of the Kolarian Family, to be described further down, and debased Dialects are spoken in Bustar of the Central Provinces, in Jypore of the Madras Province, and by the wandering Ramúsi and Korawar. It has a peculiar Character, a variation of the Indian, and a considerable Literature, dating back as far as the twelfth century of our era. It has borrowed considerably from the Sanskrit. The whole Bible has been translated into this Language in the Telugu Character. It has sufficient linguistic books.

#### KANARESE.

The boundaries of the Kanarese Language may be designated by a line drawn from Sudáshivagadh on the Malabar coast to the Westward of Dharwar, Belgaum, and Húkeri, through Kágal and Karandwar, passing between Keligaum and Pandegaum through Brahmapúri on the Bhimá and Sholapur, and thence East to the neighbourhood of Béder. From Sudáshivagadh following the Southern boundary of Sundá to the top of the Western Ghats, it comprehends the whole of Mysore and Coimbatore, and the line of Eastern Ghats. In certain portions of the Field there is an intermixture of Maráthi-speaking population. The number is estimated at nine millions and a quarter in the Provinces of Madras and Bombay, and the independent territory of the Nizam and Mysore, chiefly Hindu. Taking the modern colloquial Language as the standard, we must enter the classical or ancient form of speech as a Dialect, which differs from the standard by the use of different inflectional terminations. The Dialect of the Badagas or Burgers, a numerous Hindu tribe in the Neilgherries, agricultural immigrants from the plains, is a very ancient one. Many of their songs have been published by Gover, and the Gospel of St. Luke has been translated into this Dialect in the Kanarese Character, which is in all essentials identical with that of the Telugu, but there is an Archaic Character of Sanskrit



inscriptions found over a large area, called "Hala Kan-nada." There is no lack of linguistic books. Dialects of this Language are spoken by the wild Pagan hill-tribes.

#### MALAYÁLIM.

The Malayálim Language is spoken along the Malabar Coast on the Western side of the Ghats or Malaya range of mountains, from Chandragiri near Mangalore, where it supersedes Kanarese and Tulu, to Trivandrum, where it is superseded by Tamil. The population amounts to three millions and three-quarters in the Province of Madras, and the independent States of Cochin and Travancore chiefly Hindu, with a sprinkling of Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians. It has a peculiar Character. There is a Dictionary on the Comparative Method by Gundert. The Language is peculiarly related to, and geographically intertwined with, Tamil, of which it is an ancient offshoot, but much altered. The proportion of Sanskrit loan-words is the greatest in Malayálim of all Dravidian Languages. Its Literature has been described by Gundert. A Dialect of this Language is spoken by the forest tribes on the Western slopes of the Anamulli range, and a more remarkable one by the Mappila of the Western Coast, and the inhabitants of the Laccadive Islands. Burnell, in his "Specimens of South Indian Dialects," gives a specimen of this Dialect in the Roman Character and the Mappila adapted Arabic Character, which is used by all except a few who have retained the Vatteluttu or old Tamil-Malayálim Character, concerning which there is an interesting discussion in the "Palæography of Southern India" and the "Indian Antiquary." This Dialect must have been formed a thousand years ago. It has a Literature of its own, and has sub-Dialects. It may be added, that the Mappila-Arabic Character is used by all educated Mahomedans, who know nothing of the Arabic Language. It is not known who made the adaptation of the Arabic Alphabet, but it is very

ingenious and sufficient. The inhabitants of the Laccadive Islands are immigrants from the Malabar Coast, and they resemble the Mappilas of the coast; but they all became Mahomedan six hundred years ago. The islands used to belong entirely, and now do in part, to the chiefs of Kannanore. One island, Minikoi, lies half-way betwixt the Laccadives and the Maldives, but belongs to the Mappila chief of Kannanore. The inhabitants speak a Language, called Mahl, a corrupt Dialect of Malayálim, and quite unintelligible to strangers. The population exceeds twelve thousand. The Bible is translated in the Malayálim Character. There is no lack of linguistic books.

#### TULU.

Tulu or Tuluva is a cultivated Language, but occupies a very small Field. It is destitute, however, of a Literature, and has no peculiar Character, and uses the Kanarese. It is one of the most highly developed of the Dravidian Family. The Chandragiri and Kalyanpuri Rivers in the District of Kanara of the Madras Province have ever been its boundaries. The population amounts to only about three hundred thousand, chiefly Hindu, and the Field has been so broken in upon by other Languages, that Tulu may soon disappear. It is interesting, because it seems to have been cultivated for its own sake, and it is well worthy of a careful study. The Missionaries teach their Christians Kanarese, as well as Tulu. The Tulu Brahmins use the Malayálim Character for Sanskrit manuscripts. It differs far more widely from Malayálim than Malayálim does from Tamil. It differs not so widely from Kanarese, still less so from Kudagu. Brigel has supplied a Grammar. The New Testament has been translated into this Language in the Kanarese Character.

#### KUDAGU.

The last in the list of cultivated Languages is Kudagu or Coorg, but it is very doubtful, whether it is cultivated.

There used to be an independent State of that name, but it is now part of the Madras Province. Kudagu is certainly an independent Language, and not a Dialect of one of its great neighbours, and in Caldwell's opinion stands midway betwixt Old Kanarese and Tulu. Cole, Superintendent of Coorg, has compiled a Grammar, and some songs have also been published. Their retired mountainous position has enabled this tribe to maintain their Language free from change. They are only semi-Hinduised, as they practise Polyandry and worship demons; they number about one hundred and sixty thousand, and have no Literature or Character. The Kanarese is used as the literary Language, and is understood by all; so the Kudagu will not long survive. Small as is the Language-Field, there are still Dialects, but not distinctly named. Burnell has published specimens in his "South Indian Dialects," using the Kanarese Character.

#### TODA.

Many books and papers have been written upon the subject of the Todas of the Neilgherries, in the Madras Province, far beyond their deserts. Their residence is in the neighbourhood of Ootacamund, which has brought them under the observation of Missionaries, scholars, and chance tourists. They are Pagans, in the lowest stage of civilisation, and practise Polyandry, and do not exceed seven hundred in number. Their Language presents a different and interesting variation of the Dravidian Family, and is valuable for comparative philology, but both race and Language will soon be extinct. Their Language was once highly inflectional, but, when it lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way, as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles, or auxiliaries, to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes, and it has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton, and barely suffices for the purposes of a barbarous people. It was originally

Old Kanarese, and not a distinct Language, and an emigration probably took place from the coast to the hills eight hundred years ago. Vocabularies and Grammatical Notices are supplied.

KOTA.

The Kota tribe dwell intermixed with the Todas, but are totally distinct, and to a certain extent submissive to the latter. They are hardworking, peaceful Pagans in a very low stage of civilisation, and are very disgusting in their habits. They have resided from unknown antiquity in the Neilgherries, and their Language is decidedly Dravidian, with certain analogies to Tamil, and yet more nearly allied to Kanarese than to any of the other sister-Languages. They have neither Character nor Literature, and it cannot be expected that the Language will long survive. Vocabularies are supplied. The number of people is very small.

KHOND.

The tribe known as Khond, Kandh, Kho, Kus, and Ku, speak a Dravidian Language. They have attained an unenviable notoriety amidst the Pagan tribes of India, as having persistently maintained the practice of human sacrifice, known as Meriah, up to a very late date, until it was stamped out by the exertions of British officers. There is reason to believe, that this practice was shared with others, and even with some of the Hindus, at an earlier period, but the special feature of the Khonds is, that they clung to it, while others had abandoned it. They occupy a portion of the hilly tract known as the Cuttack Tributary Muhals in the Province of Bengal, and spread down into the district of Ganjam in the Province of Madras. The River Mahanudy was said to be their Northern boundary, but in the Map attached to the Census of Bengal, 1872, they are described as extending far to the North, and this fact is confirmed by other authorities.

They seem—at least some of them—to have practised female infanticide as well. The officers, appointed to the task of suppressing these abominable practices, studied the Language, and Grammars have been published. Several Dialects are noted, as might be expected in a Language which comes into contact with the Uriya of the Aryan and Telugu of the Dravidian Family. The standard is quite uncertain, but there are separate Dialects at 1. Goomsur, 2. Daringahadi, 3. Rumes, and 4. in the Orissa Muhals. There is neither Character nor Literature, and it is to be regretted, that the political domination of the Uriya people has led to some Khond books being published in the Uriya Character. Others have been published in the Roman Character. The Language is now one of those, for the acquirement of which encouragement is given by Government. The number of victims rescued from the Meriah-sacrifice, and transferred to mission schools, gave excellent opportunities of studying the Language. It is quite distinct from Gond, and has a closer resemblance to Tamil and Kanarese than to Telugu and Gond. The number of the Khonds in the Bengal Province amounts to fifty thousand, and in the Madras Province to eighty-eight thousand. A great many books have been published regarding the Khonds.

#### GOND.

The Gond Language comes next under consideration. In old maps of India a large territory was marked Gondwána, which is now part of the Central Provinces. The tribe of Gonds is found also in the Provinces of Bengal and Madras. In fact, the tract reaches from the Vindhyan Mountains to the River Godavery, and from the country of the Khonds in the Cuttack Tributary Muhals as far as the country of the Bhils in Khandesh and Malwa to the West. It is, however, divided into two considerable enclaves. There are at least a million and a half Gonds in the Central Provinces, and an uncertain population beyond these limits. Some are Pagans; some have adopted a

semi-Hindu religion and culture; some conform entirely to Hinduism, and claim to be Rajpoots; some are Mahomedan, their chiefs having become so from interested motives; and now, as there are several Missions at work in their midst, some few are Christians. Many of them have abandoned their native Language, and speak a Dialect of Hindi, Uriya, Maráthi, or Telugu. Some are respectable and civilised agriculturists; others are in the lowest state of wild and shy savagery, and nearly entirely naked. It is admitted, that so late as 1852 Gondwána was a totally unexplored country, a Sahára in our maps, and that the boundaries of the adjoining Languages, Hindi, Uriya, Maráthi, and Telugu, were unknown. This tract had, in fact, been a bit of cover, in which, when the plains were swept by hunters, the wild tribes had taken refuge, and thus survived the ever-advancing Hindu immigration, and the ever-absorbing Mahomedan conquest. So long as the independent kingdom of Nagpúr lasted, this was the state of affairs, but, when the Central Provinces were formed into a separate administration, the clouds began to be raised. It was found that among the Northern Gonds the following Dialects existed:—1. Gayeti, 2. Rutluk, 3. Naikude, 4. Kolámi, 5. Mahadeo, 6. Raj. Among the Southern Gonds also the following:—7. Maria, 8. Maree, 9. Gotta, 10. Koi or Koitor. We have Vocabularies of these Dialects, and descriptions of these tribes. It is to the Missionaries, that we are indebted for Grammatical Notices, and text and translation of Gond songs. There is clearly a close affinity in the Gond Language to Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese, in some particulars to one, and in some to others. There are a great many Hindi loan-words, and on all sides there are transitional forms of debased admixture of Gond with the adjoining great Languages. It has a very elaborate conjugational system, and, as this is not a feature of other Dravidian Languages, the idea is hazarded, that it may have been borrowed from the contact of Kolarian neighbours. It is impossible to define its exact boundaries, but

generally the Hindi-speaking cultivator has seized the plains, and pushed the Gonds to the hills. Portions of the Bible have been translated into this Language in the Nagári Character. There is every reason to expect, that it will hold its own, and not give way to its encroaching neighbours. The Missionaries at Dumagúden report the necessity of using in the schools the Koi Dialect of Gond, and the preparation of Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies in that Dialect. The part of the country, where the wildest Gonds live, is in the independent State of Bustar, and a portion of it called Abajmárd or Má dian, but the name of the tribe is Máree. Much more is required to do justice to this Language. There is neither Character nor Literature.

#### ORAON.

The Oraons of Chutia-Nagpur and other places in the Province of Bengal number six hundred thousand. They are called also Khurukh and Dhangars, and are an industrious race, known far and wide as day-labourers. They are Pagans, and dwell to a certain extent intermixed with the Mundáris, who will be noticed further on; and sometimes even the Oraons have been confusedly designated as Koles, with whom, however, they have no connection. Dalton gives a full account of their customs, and Flex has published a Grammar. The Language unquestionably is Dravidian, but the Aryan neighbours and conquerors of this tribe have influenced not only the customs of the people, but their Language to such an extent, that gradually the pronunciation and orthography have been modified. There are a great number of Hindi loan-words. The syntactical structure of the sentence has also been modified. The Dravidian element has survived in the first few numerals, the pronouns, specially the personal pronouns, and the declensional and conjugational structure. The latter is extremely irregular and complicated. Flex remarks, that this Language has been severely

handled by the Aryans, and, though struggling hard for independence, bears the stamp of the Aryan mind on its brow. It has neither Character nor Literature, and the Roman Character is used. It will scarcely survive the struggle for life, which has now commenced.

RAJMUHÁLI.

In the Province of Bengal, in the hills, which actually overhang the Ganges at Rajmuhál, dwell the mountaineer tribe known as the Rajmuháli, or Malers, or Paháris. The skirts and valleys of these hills are occupied by the Son-tháls of the Kolarian Family, who will be noticed further on. But these hill-men have attracted notice since last century, when they were weaned from lawless pursuits by the judicious management of Mr. Cleveland. They are still Pagan, and in a low state of civilisation; and it is a remarkable fact, that they have retained their unmistakably Dravidian Language notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the superior Aryan races and the encroaching Kolarian. We have nothing beyond Vocabularies, but Caldwell remarks, that the evidence of the lowest numerals and pronouns is clear. There is a large admixture of Aryan loan-words; there is neither Character nor Literature. But as this Language is on the extreme flank of the Dravidian Family, and the nearest to the Tibeto-Burman, it deserves a more particular study. In many respects the people and Language resemble the Oraons. Their numbers are said to amount to four hundred thousand, but it is a question, whether their Language will survive.

KEIKÁDI.

In Hunter's list of Non-Aryan Languages appears a Vocabulary of Keikádi, which is described by Hislop as that of a wandering tribe, whose route lies more remote from the Tamil country than the Telugu, and yet the Language approaches Tamil more than other Dravidian Languages. Nothing further is known of this Language,



which is only provisionally entered as a separate Language in the present state of our knowledge. Probably it will subside into the position of a Dialect of Tamil on a more intimate acquaintance.

YERUKÁLA.

In Hunter's list of Non-Aryan Languages appears a Vocabulary of Yerukála. In Hodgson's Aborigines of the Eastern Ghats we find that a Madras civil officer supplied a Vocabulary of this tribe, and from his notice I conclude, that their habitat is somewhere in the hilly country of Vijigapatam District of the Madras Province. The tribe is also mentioned in Bustar of the Central Provinces. Nothing further is known, and this Language is provisionally entered as a Dravidian Language in the present state of our knowledge. It will probably subside to the position of a Dialect of Telugu.

## CHAPTER IV.

*KOLARIAN FAMILY.*

## GENERAL.

To George Campbell we are indebted for the word "Kolarian," as the name of a class of Non-Aryans in Central India, who are not Dravidians. Hodgson had first drawn attention to the affinity betwixt the aborigines of Central India and Southern India with the aborigines of the Himalayas. Max Müller, in his celebrated letter on the Turanian Languages to Baron Bunsen, pointed out, that there were clearly two distinct Families of Languages. Caldwell made up the Dravidian Family by the inclusion of some of the tribes of Central India and the exclusion of others. Campbell collected roughly those excluded tribes into a Family of their own, and in 1866 called them Kolarian, and that name is now accepted. Like the Dravidian, it is morphologically Agglutinative, but with distinct characteristics. Like the Tibeto-Burman, it probably found its way to its present habitat from the plateau of Tibet, but it has so long been cut off from all connection with that Family by the storm-wave of the Aryan immigration down the valley of the Ganges, that nothing but faint analogies survive. It must decidedly be treated, as an independent Family, occupying ground in the Provinces of Bengal and Madras and the Central Provinces, chiefly in the hills, and intermixed with the more energetic Families, the Aryan and Dravidian. Nearly two millions have kept their Language. Ethnologically the number is greater,

but whole tribes, like the Bhils in Khandesh, Malwa, and Rajpootana, the Bhars, Bhuyas, &c., have adopted an Aryan Language in debased Dialects. While, on the one hand, Trumpp is of opinion that Brahúi, which I have provisionally classed as Aryan, is Kolarian; on the other hand, from the necessity of the case, I am constrained to class the Mal-Pahária, or Naia Dumka, as Kolarian, or leave them out altogether, or form a separate Family for them, which would be hardly justified by the scanty material.

It is worthy of remark, that the Kolarian Family has a higher degree of inflection, and more complete indigenous Vocabularies, than the Dravidian. Everything for the present is provisional, and the following Languages are entered:—

- |                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| I. SONTHÁL.          | VI. KUR.        |
| II. MUNDÁRI, BHUMIJ, | VII. SAVÁRA.    |
| HO, or KOLE.         | VIII. MEHTO.    |
| III. KHÁRIA.         | IX. GADABA.     |
| IV. JUANG.           | X. MAL-PAHÁRIA. |
| V. KORWA.            |                 |

I can only allude to the hypothesis, based upon alleged linguistic affinities and resemblance of names, betwixt the Language of the Mundas and of the Mons of Pegu in the Mon-Anam Family, which will be described further on. There are names of weight on both sides. A much more intimate knowledge of the structure of Mundári is required, before any opinion can be formed.

The following characteristics of this Family may be noted. In its genders it makes a distinction betwixt animate and inanimate objects. It has no oblique forms for its nouns. It has a dual number, while the Dravidian Family has not. It has no negative voice. It has two forms for each tense, which in most of the Languages gives the verb a transitive and intransitive meaning. It varies the meaning of a root by infixing syllables, but never changes, like the Dravidian, any of the letters of the root itself.

## SONTHÁL.

The beautiful and vigorous Language of the Sontháls comes first. The tribe is found at intervals much scattered in a strip of the Province of Bengal extending about 350 miles from the River Ganges to the River Baitarni, in the Districts of Bhagalpur, Sonthál Perganas, Birbhum, Bancooruh, Hazáribagh, Manbhum, Midnapur, Singhbhum, and Balasore. The Sonthál Perganas are the nucleus of the tribe, but only lately occupied by a move forward. They are Pagans, and peaceful agriculturists, in number about one million. Several Protestant Missionaries have settled down among them, and find them very docile. One of these, Skrefsrud, has published in 1873 a Grammar, superseding the one published in 1852 by Phillips. It is asserted that the Sonthál is as superior to its sister-Languages, as Sanskrit is to its cognate Languages, and that it is not even second to the Osmanli-Turkî in grammatical structure. Its verb-system is artificial and complex, yet logical and transparent, for it possesses voice, mood, tense, gender, number, person, case, conjugations, including five voices, five moods, twenty-three tenses, three numbers, and four cases. The Language is unwritten, and is now rendered in Roman and Bengáli Characters. There exist common roots for very primitive ideas in Sanskrit and Sonthál. Portions of the Bible have been translated into this Language in the Roman Character, and many educational works published. Four Dialects are recorded, which is not improbable, considering that there has been no settled standard till now; that the Language-Field is surrounded and intermixed with other Kolarian, as well as Dravidian and Aryan, Languages.

## MUNDÁRI.

Dalton groups together the following tribes, and gives their number:—

|                     |   |   |   |   |         |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Mundáris,           | . | . | . | . | 400,000 |
| Hos or Larka Koles, | . | . | . | . | 150,000 |
| Bhumij, .           | . | . | . | . | 300,000 |
|                     |   |   |   |   | <hr/>   |
|                     |   |   |   |   | 850,000 |

Their habitat is on the plateau of Chútia-Nagpore, which is connected with the Vyndha range. Here the aborigines of India have found a secure asylum for many centuries, in a beautiful region, which was a gigantic natural fortress, about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, in extent about 14,000 square miles, with rivers flowing in every direction. They are active agriculturists in the Chútia-Nagpore, Manbhūm, and Singhbhum Districts of the Bengal Province, and Pagans, but in former years they have proved high-spirited, and difficult to govern; but all this has passed away. Protestant Missionaries are established among them, and by one of them a Grammar of the Mundári has been published in 1873. One of the Gospels has been translated into this Language in the Nágari Character. It is an unwritten Language, without any standard, and there are several Dialects diverging very considerably from each other. The Dialect of Mankipati is the one in which Hindi has made the slightest inroad, and the Language is consequently purer. Any one familiar with that Dialect will be perfectly well understood by all the Mundári-speaking people of Chútia-Nagpore, and the Larka Koles of Singhbhum. Hindi words and phrases are largely used, but attempts are made to restrict the use. The Language-Field is situated in the critical position of the point of juncture of three powerful Aryan Vernaculars, Hindi, Bengáli, and Uriya; and the Dravidian Oraons are intermixed with them, and in the struggle for life it may go hard with this Language. The Larka Koles never had submitted to a foreign ruler until now. The Language is also spoken by the Birhors, a Pagan tribe about seven hundred in number, who live in the jungles of Hazáribagh, in the same Province, and to whom is imputed the atrocity

of eating the dead bodies of their nearest relatives, like the Battas of Sumatra in the Malayan Family, who will be noticed further on.

The term Kol is certainly a lax one, as for some time the Oraons, who belong to the Dravidian Family, were included in it. As a fact, the Moondas and Oraons dwell together in the same villages, meet in social gatherings, but never intermarry. It is also stated, that the term Kol is one of opprobrium, and that its further employment as the designation of tribes, who call themselves by other names, might with advantage be discontinued.

#### KHARIA.

The Kharias are found in the district of Singhbhum of the Province of Bengal, in a very wild state, living in back-woods and on the tops of hills. They are more civilised in Chútia-Nagpore, and are agriculturists. They are Pagans. Of their Language we have Vocabularies, supplied by Dalton, but nothing beyond. There are affinities to Mundári and Juang. There is no Character, and this Language will probably die away.

#### JUANG.

The Juangs, Malhars, or Puttooahs, are grouped in the Kolarian Family on account of linguistic affinity. Their Language approaches nearest to that of the Kharia. Dalton considers it by no means certain, that the Juangs may not at one time have spoken a different Language. The words for common and familiar objects are identical with Mundári and Sonthál; but they have lived so long in the Tributary Muhals of Cuttack, among an Uriya population, that they have adopted Uriya words, and there are words also, which are neither Aryan, Kolarian, nor Dravidian. It is possible, that they are the remnant of one of the great Forest-races, which occupied the whole mountainous region before the immigration of the Kolarians. They are found in Dhekánah and Keonjhur of Cuttack, in

the Province of Bengal. They cultivate the steep sides of hills in settlements of their own, of about twenty houses, but intermixed with other tribes. They repudiate all connection with any other tribe, and maintain, that their Language is separate from all others, and that they are the earliest human beings of the locality. They are a most primitive people in habits and customs. They had till lately no knowledge of iron. They neither spin nor weave, nor have the least knowledge of pottery. They practise the Jhum system of agriculture. The women used not to wear a particle of clothing, but bunches of leaves before and behind, hanging to a girdle of beads. They were deterred by superstition from wearing clothes, and believed that, if they did, they would be devoured by tigers. Hunter mentions that within the last few years a large supply of cloth has been distributed by the State, and engagements taken from the men, that the women should henceforth wear clothing. There is nothing but Vocabularies of their Language. They are Pagans, and have no Character. Neither tribe nor Language are likely to survive.

#### KORWA

In the centre of a dependency of Chútia-Nagpore, called Barwah, live the wretched forest-cultivators, the Korwas, separated from the cognate Kolarians, and intermixed with other tribes; but it is admitted, that they are the earliest settlers, and were once masters of the country. Their number does not exceed fourteen thousand, and they lead a savage and nomadic life. They are Pagans, wholly illiterate. Nothing exists but Vocabularies of this Language, and a long duration cannot be expected for it.

#### KUR.

The Kur and Kurka dwell in the Central Provinces, on the Mahadeo Hills, and Westward in the forests on the Rivers Tapti and Narbudda, up to the Bhil country. On the Mahadeo Hills they prefer to be called Muasi. They are

Pagans, and, though residing amidst Gonds, their Language is Kolarian. Vocabularies are supplied by Hislop and Dalton. They are wholly illiterate. In the Districts of Hoshungabad and Bétul their number exceeds fifty-nine thousand. This Language will scarcely survive very long.

## SAVÁRA.

In the Madras Province, and surrounded by Aryan and Dravidian neighbours, we come upon another small Kolarian tribe, speaking a distinct Language. They are known as Savára, or Sabara, or Sowruh, and supposed to be the Suari mentioned by Pliny and the Sabaræ mentioned by Ptolemy. They are found on the West and back of the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district of the Madras Province, and their Language-Field is duly marked off on the Language-Map of the Census Report of the Madras Province. They are said to number about eighteen hundred, to dress in leaves, though they have picked up a little civilisation from their Uriya and Telugu neighbours. They are quiet and industrious, and dwell in villages. There are some still wilder members of the Family in the hills. Of their Language little is known beyond Vocabularies. They are Pagans. Dalton, in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, mentions this tribe by name as occupying the country betwixt the Khond Hills and the Godavery, and retaining a primitive speech; but he adds, that the Bendkar Savaras speak Uriya, and conform to the customs of Hindus of the lower castes, and dwell in the State of Keonjhur dependent on the Cuttack district of the Bengal Province. It may be expected that this Language will be crowded out by Telugu or Uriya. In the Madras Census Report, the Sowruh of the Jypore district in the Madras Province are described as semi-Hinduised, and have forgotten all knowledge of any Language but Uriya.

## MEHTO.

The Ethnological Committee of the Central Provinces indicate a tribe called Mangee, or Mehto, in the hilly



tracts of Belaspur, who are Pagans, and who, judging from the short Vocabulary supplied, speak a Kolarian Language.

#### GADABA.

The tribe of Gudba, or Gadaba, inhabit the Eastern portion of Bustar in the Central Provinces, and Jypore, a dependent State of the Madras Province, where they are numerous. Glasford notices them. Their Language clearly belongs not to the same stock as their neighbours the Gonds, of the Maria Dialect, but to the Kolarian Family. It is interesting to find a Kolarian Language imbedded among the Dravidians down in the South-East. Glasford, in his report of the Bustar District, supplies a Vocabulary. Some of the words are identical with words of the Koorku, Kol, and Sonthal Languages. This same tribe is found again in the highlands of Guddapur, of the Ganjam District of the Madras Province. They are Pagans. We cannot anticipate a long life to this Language. In the Madras Census Report they are connected with another tribe called Kerang-Kapus, who speak the same Language.

#### MAL-PUHÁRIA.

Dalton mentions the existence in the Ramgurh Hills of the Birbhum District of the Bengal Province of a tribe, who call themselves Mal-Puhárias, but who are altogether different from the Rajmuháli Puhárias, or Malers, of the Dravidian Family. A Vocabulary was collected by Coates from a prisoner in the gaol, but the words seem to be as far removed from Kolarian as Dravidian. They are Pagan, and have their separate customs. It was necessary to enter the Language somewhere, that it might not be overlooked. The classification is entirely provisional. They are also called Naa-Dumka. This Language, and that of the Mehtos, is entered for the purpose of exhausting the subject, and accounting for all the Languages, of which Vocabularies have been supplied.

## CHAPTER V.

*TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY.*

I APPROACH the Tibeto-Burman Family with some misgivings, for the Field is imperfectly explored, it is unusually extensive, and the classification is new, and I have no authority to follow, as in the three preceding Families. Little has been done in the way of classifying and arranging since the date of Max Muller's letter to Bunsen on the Turanian Languages a quarter of a century ago, yet in some parts of the Field our geographical, ethnical, and linguistic knowledge has so extended, that a reprint of that letter would do more harm than good. It is my present task to indicate, what has been done, and what remains to be done, and I see signs that something more will soon be done.

The interior grouping of the members of this enormous Family must for the present be based upon geographical considerations, and upon no other. It extends from the River Indus and the frontier of Dardistan, already described in the Aryan Family, in a South-Easterly direction to the River Mekong and the Isthmus of Kraw, in Siam. It embraces the whole length of the Himaláya range and the kingdom of Tibet, and portion of Yunan in China beyond. It is admitted, that there is a linguistic affinity connecting seven groups out of the eight, which make up this Family. The old phrase of Hodgson, "Tamulic," must be abandoned, as based on an error admitted by that scholar; the term Turanian is decidedly objectionable, as implying too much; the pro-

posed subdivision of Max Muller into Gangetic, and Lohitic, would at best only apply to part of the Field, and is inappropriate. We must fall back upon a compound name, formed from the two leading Languages of the Northern and Southern branches of the Family. It is a positive fact, that Tibetan and Burmese are the only two great literary and political Languages of the Family.

It will be observed that in the Himaláya range within the Province of the Punjáb and the North-West Province, the Aryans seem to have pushed the Tibeto-Burmans across the great Watershed, and the Languages of this Family to the West of the River Gogra or boundary of Nepál are all Trans-Himaláyan. It is more convenient to exhaust the groups this side of the Himaláyan Watershed first. The following groups are suggested, as a convenient mode of grappling with the subject:—

|                               |               |              |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| I. NEPÁL GROUP, . . . .       | 13 Languages. | 16 Dialects. |
| II. SIKHIM GROUP, . . . .     | 1 Language.   | 1 Dialect.   |
| III. ASSAM GROUP, . . . .     | 16 Languages. | 23 Dialects. |
| IV. MUNIPÚR-CHITTAGONG GROUP, | 24 Languages. | 8 Dialects.  |
| V. BURMA GROUP, . . . .       | 9 Languages.  | 10 Dialects. |
| VI. TRANS-HIMALÁYAN GROUP,    | 8 Languages.  | 23 Dialects. |
| VII. CHINA GROUP, . . . .     | 6 Languages.  | None.        |
| VIII. ISLAND GROUP, . . . .   | 10 Languages. | 3 Dialects.  |
| <hr/>                         |               |              |
| Total, . . . .                | 87 Languages. | 84 Dialects. |

This seems the only way of bringing this enormous Language-Field, comprising eighty-seven Languages, and eighty-four Dialects of those Languages, under review. The arrangement is entirely provisional. It is not pretended, that the list of Languages is exhausted, that Vocabularies exist for all the entries, or that the habitat of every tribe is indicated. In another particular there is extreme laxitude. Many names have been entered as Languages, which closer scrutiny may reduce to the rank of Dialects of other Languages. On the other hand, many, now entered as Dialects, subordinate to some

Language, may assert their right to be classed as independent Languages. Scanty Vocabularies represent the great portion of these Languages. In some cases we have Grammatical Notes, in others we have Grammars. In this direction emphatically lies the work of the next quarter of a century. We must have Grammars, and in some cases scientific Grammars, which in due course will be followed by Comparative Grammars and Dictionaries, thus making substantial contributions to the sum of linguistic knowledge in a most interesting direction, just where the Monosyllabic Method is giving way to the earliest development of the Agglutinative.

It may be asserted generally, that this Family belongs to the Agglutinative Order. It is distinguished from the two preceding Families, Dravidian and Kolarian, both of the same Morphological Order, by its two tones, or, in the absence of tones, by its peculiar determinative syllables. It has not both the cerebral and dental row. It has no grammatical gender. The genitive follows the substantive; the verbs in most of the Languages have no person-endings. It is distinguished from the three Monosyllabic Families, with which it comes into geographical contact, the Khasi, Tai, and Mon-Anam, by the position of the determining noun before the determined, by grammatical relations being denoted by suffixes, by the inverted construction of its sentences, the absence of a relative pronoun, and the verb coming at the end of the sentence.

Hodgson asserts, that there is distinct evidence of the existence of two classes of Languages, one of the pronominalised, or complex type, and the other of the non-pronominalised, and simple type. By this term is meant the use of the pronoun in the form of affixes and suffixes. Brandreth last year published a scheme for the general classification of the whole Family on Morphological data, making a great step in advance.

The geographical position of this long range of Languages is remarkable. The most Eastern wave of Aryan

civilisation rolled up against an impassable barrier, the Himaláya mountains, but for which the older culture, which Tibet had imported from China, would have given way to the fresher Aryan culture established at Kanouj and Benares. In spite of this mountain barrier, Tibet has received from India her religion, Literature, and Character, but she has conserved to this day her own Language and type of civilisation, by enforcing a system of absolute isolation, which it must be the work of the next quarter of a century to break down.

Nepál has in a measure succumbed to Aryan influence. The Mahomedan conquest drove Brahmins from the plains to these valleys, and not only did the Aryan Nepáli thus get a footing, as the ruling Language, but each of the Tibeto-Burman Languages, that has attained any degree of culture, is indebted for it to Aryan influence, and these mountaineers, just in proportion to their ceasing to be savages, began to be semi-Hindus.

A special connection of some of the Languages of this Family has been asserted with the Kolarian Family. The distance on the map from the extreme point of the Southern mountains of Assam to Rajmuhál is, as the crow flies, not so great as to forbid the idea, that India has been occupied at remote periods by Pre-Aryan immigrants from Trans-Himaláyan regions. But we await a more scientific comparison of Languages, and more complete ethnological research, before the theory can be firmly established, that the Nisháda dark-coloured Kolarian races were immigrants from the plateau of Tibet. This is a question of Ethnology as well as of Comparative Philology.

The linguistic phenomenon of tones appears in the Languages of this Family. Robinson, to whom we are indebted for Grammatical Notes of some of the Languages of the Assam group, thus describes it. In Languages of monosyllables the colloquial medium is limited. On a new object being presented to the mind, a new name was wanted, and the possibility of uniting two words

to form a new word never occurred. A monosyllable already in use must therefore be made use of again, but differentiated by a tone, adding force, length, or rapidity of pronunciation. There are in practice four tones: first, the even and moderate, neither raised nor depressed: "*recto tono*;" secondly, strong, rough, and vehement; thirdly, strengthening the beginning, and then lengthening the end; fourthly, short and hasty. It is obvious, that the Agglutinative Method gradually limited the necessity of tones, and the Inflexive method superseded it altogether. As a fact there is an entire absence of tones from the Dravidian Family.

#### I. NEPÁL GROUP.

The first group represents the area of the independent kingdom of Nepál, between the Rivers Gogra and Tiesta, the plains of British India and the plateau of Tibet. The Himaláya is not an unbroken chain or unsurmountable barrier to separate this plateau from the basin of the Ganges, but is pierced by numerous mountain passes. Max Muller compares this portion of the range to a hand with five fingers expanded towards India. Each interval marks the basin of one of the four great feeders of the Ganges, the Gogra, the Gunduk, the Kosi, the Tiesta. There is of this region also three climatic transverse divisions, each having a width of thirty miles. The first is the upper region of the crest of the higher range, with an elevation of 16,000 feet down to 10,000, the second is the central region, from 10,000 feet to 4000; the third is the lower region, extending from 4000 feet to the level of the plains. The foot of the hill, and the hill itself, are important points of difference in Indian ethnology. Generally these regions are represented by the terms Hyundes, Khas Des, and Terai. Thirteen distinct Languages, all of Trans-Himaláyan origin, are spoken in this region, in addition to the Aryan Language already described as Nepáli, and the numerous Dialects of Hindi

spoken all along the fringe of the Terai. These Languages are with difficulty intelligible to their neighbours, and two only, the Newári and Limbu, have a peculiar Character. Another subdivision is that of religion, for there are Hindus, Buddhists, and Pagans. Some are agricultural, some pastoral. They vary also in their degree of civilisation and prosperity. The basin of the Kosi, in the central or temperate region, is occupied by the 1. Limbu and 2. Kiranti. The Watershed of the Kosi and Gunduk by the 3. Newar, 4. Murmi, and 5. Pahari. The basin of the Gunduk is the seat of the 6. Sunwar, 7. Garung, and 8. Magar. The 9. Thakshya are in West Nepál. The Terai is occupied by the 10. Vayu, 11. Chhapang, 12. Kusunda, and 13. Bramhu. Hodgson revealed the existence of these tribes, and supplies Vocabularies of these Languages. Max Muller popularised this information. We have got no further since.

I proceed to notice each Language separately. Beames has supplied a Grammatical Note on the Magar from authentic sources. The groundwork of the Language is Tibetan, but much has been borrowed from Hindi. The tribe is warlike, and supplies six thousand fighting men, many of them in the English army. They have a population of twenty-four thousand, and three clans, of which the Thapa is the chief. They are Hindu, and pretend to be Rajput; but their appearance is unmistakably Mongolian. They learn to speak Nepáli. In their Language we find a jumble of Hindi, debased Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, and debased Tibetan words. The Language is a musical one, both as regard words and grammatical structure.

The Gurung are nominally Hindu, but retain Pagan customs. They also render military service, and many of them speak the Nepáli Language in addition to their own.

The Murmi are very numerous. They are pastoral as well as agricultural, and are settled on mountains from 4000 to 6000 feet, and dwell in houses of stone.

The Newar were rulers of the great valley before the Goorkha conquest. They supply the great mass of the agricultural and artisan population. Two-thirds are Buddhist, and the remainder Hindu. They are not permitted to enlist in the army. They appear to have three varieties of Character, and a small Literature, chiefly translations. No Dictionary or Grammar exists, nor is the cultivation of the Vernacular thought of, as the Buddhists are partial to the use of the Tibetan Language. Nepáli has made no effect on this Language.

The Kiranti is remarkable, as there are no less than seventeen Dialects, and Hodgson supplies a Vocabulary of each. He gives a Grammatical Note on the Bahing Dialect, and a description of the tribe generally. He considers that, on account of their distinctly traceable antiquity as a nation, being the representatives of the Kirata of the Purans and Maha-Bharata, and the peculiar structure of their Language, they are the most interesting of all the races. They are Pagan, number a quarter of a million, occupy a healthy district, and cultivate a fresh portion of the forest year by year. They have also the credit of giving name to the medicine Chiretta. The Language of the Hayu and Vahu is of high antiquity, complex structure, and unintelligible to others. We have Grammatical Notes by Hodgson, and the theory that their name was Hayasvu or horse-faced. They are Pagan, a broken tribe of a few thousands, and on the road to extinction. The Bhramu speak a purely Tibeto-Burman Language, in the valley of Nayakote, West-North-West of the capital, a low and hot valley, but not in the Terai. We have nothing but Vocabularies. They are Pagan.

Amidst the dense forest of the central region to the Westward of the great valley, dwell in scanty numbers, and nearly in a state of nature, the two broken tribes of the Chepang and Kusunda, having no apparent affinity to the civilised races of the country, and seeming to be fragments of an earlier colonisation. They pay no taxes,



use bows and arrows, and shift their habitation from place to place. The Kusunda are lower than the Chepang, for the latter hold intercourse with civilised men. They are harmless. They have clearly been in former days broken in some struggle and outlawed. Hodgson saw some Chepang and made a Vocabulary, but he never got any access to the Kusunda, and there is no Vocabulary. They are considered by the Goorkhas to be the aborigines. The Chepang have linguistic affinity with the Lhopa of Bhutan, but there has been no intercourse betwixt them time out of mind. In a few generations all will be swept away.

The Sunwar are found in the Western hills, North of the Magar and Gurung, and are represented by a Vocabulary. The Limbu are on the extreme Eastern flank of Nepál, and some are found in the adjoining kingdom of Sikkim. They are Pagan; but they have a peculiar Character of their own, and some Literature; at least one book was produced; but the Character seems never to be used now.

The Thakya and Pahri are Pagan. Vocabularies are supplied of both.

The jealous and barbarous system of isolation, enforced by the Goorkha Government of Nepál, has precluded any increase to our knowledge, and any advance in the education of the people. The Bible has not been translated into any of the Languages of this group. Not a Missionary has access to these hills. But there is no future to any of these Languages, and they only wait their time to be swept off the face of the earth. Under ordinary circumstances, one of them, notably the Newari, might have aspired to be the political Language, but the intruding Nepáli has prevented the occurrence of this usual phenomenon. All the tribes, who are in any degree civilised, adopt Aryan loan-words, and in the lower valleys the deterioration is more rapid. The numerals give way, and such a change

the Daráhi, Denwar, Dahi, Kaswar, Pakhya appear in this book, as Dialects of Hindi.

## II. SIKHIM GROUP.

The Language of the independent territory of Sikkim is Lepcha, with two Dialects, Rong and Khamba. This tribe occupies a tract of one hundred and twenty miles in the basin of the Tiesta, bounded on the West by Nepál, the East by Bhutan, the North by Tibet, and the South by British India. A Grammar has been published by Mainwaring. At the sanitorium of Darjeeling a Protestant Mission has been established, which has led to the translation of a portion of the Bible in the Lepcha Character, and other books of an elementary nature. Though closely allied to Tibetan, the Language has a Non-Tibetan Character. The people are Buddhists, but they bury their dead. This Language will probably hold its own.

## III. ASSAM GROUP.

The Assam Group, consisting of sixteen Languages, is situated within the jurisdiction or political influence of the Province of Assam and the Division of Kuch-Buhar of the Bengal Province. Perhaps no country in the world of the same extent has so many and various races of mankind collected together. It lies to the East of the Sikkim Group, bounded on the North by Bhotan and Tibet, on the East by Independent Burma and the Manipúr-Chittagong group, on the South by Kachár and Sylhet districts in the Bengálí-speaking portions of the Province of Assam.

The central or temperate region of the Himaláya is occupied by tribes speaking the Language of this Family in the following order, commencing from the gorge of the River Brahmaputra where it enters the valley: The 1. Mishmi, 2. Abor, 3. Miri, 4. Aka, and 5. Dophla. In the third or lower region are the 6. Deoria-Chutia, 7. Dhimal and 8. Kachári or Bodo. Crossing the River Brahmaputra at the gorge, and sweeping round the horse-shoe of inferior hills shutting in the valley of Assam on

the East and South, we come upon 9. Singpho, 10. Jili, 11. Namsang-Naga, 12. Khari-Naga, 13. Augami-Naga, 14. Mikir, and 15. Garo, and in the plains 16. Pani-Koch. The exact political position of each tribe towards the Government of British India is not easily defined. Some are entirely subject, and good subjects; some are entirely independent and uncomfortable neighbours, but they are under our protection against the outer world; some pay revenue; some receive black-mail; some are Pagan savages, others civilised Hindus.

The intrusive Aryan Asamese Language has forced itself up the valley, and there is a gradual subsidence of large bodies of the Non-Aryans into semi-Hinduism and a debased Dialect of Bengali, of which Kúch is an instance. Two other linguistic Families are represented in the valley, the Khasi and the Tai, which will be noticed further on.

Although Hodgson was first in the field in this Group also, yet considerable progress has been made independent of him. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* is a mine of wealth. Robinson, Inspector of Schools of Assam, and Nathan Brown, American Missionary, have contributed to our knowledge of the Languages. Large portions of the valley have been occupied by tea-planters, and attempts have been repeatedly made to pierce the mountain-range and river gorge into Tibet, China, and Burma. It must be remembered, that the point, where the River Brahmaputra bursts its mountain-rampart, is ethnically, linguistically, and politically, one of the highest importance. The last and weakest tidal stream of the great Aryan river of religion, Language, and civilisation, has been more than once met by a Tai counter-current, and may be met again. The incursion of the border tribes into settled valleys is often on their part a desperate effort to escape from a superior force, propelling them from their own haunts. By this outlet in times past the population of India has received great additions, though the superiority in number and calibre of the invaders from the North have borne them down, and

the Aryan settler under Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian rule has held his own. While the tribes of the Nepál Group came exclusively from Tibet, the tribes of the Assam Group have come from the frontier of China proper and the basin of the River Irawaddy.

I proceed now to notice each Language separately. The Mishmi are subdivided into three clans, speaking different Dialects, almost amounting to distinct Languages; the Chulikota or Crop-haired, the Digáru or Taying, and the Mijhu. Of these, the second only dwell within the boundary of British India. It is through their territory, that the late Mr. Cooper tried in vain to force his way to Bathang in China, and thus open out a land-route. They are savage Pagans, dwelling along the course of the River Brahmaputra proper, and this arm of the river at least is distinctly not connected with the River Sampu of Lassa in Tibet.

The Abor inhabit the hills on and to the West of the Dihong River. They are disgusting and untamable Pagan savages, having some trade with the Tibetans, but they oppose any attempt of a European to pass the frontier.

The Miri inhabit both hills and plains, and are Pagan. For a long period they managed to make themselves the channels of communication between the Government of the valley and the savage tribes beyond, and the name means "Mediator," and it is possible, that the *Meriah* sacrifice of the Khonds may have the same explanation.

The Aka, or Hrusso, lie still further to the rear, and are also Pagan. The Dophla are the same. All these tribes used habitually to harry and plunder the adjacent districts in the valley, and now receive some compensatory allowance dependent on good conduct.

The Deori-Chutia are the remnant of a great and powerful tribe, who ruled in the valley before the Shan conquest. A colony has survived in District Lukhimpúr. They are Hinduised, but preserve their old Language.

The Dhimul are one of the subjects of Hodgson's Essay, together with the Kachári or Bodo. The Kachári has eleven Dialects. 1. Rabha. 2. Mech. 3. Hozai. 4. Mechee of Bhutan-Dwar are the best-defined Dialects. The Mech are spread over a considerable area in Nepál, Sikhim, Bhotan, and the Assam Province. They never live in the cleared part of the Terai, but keep to the forest. The Kachári are exceedingly numerous in the valleys; they are Hinduised. They are said to have a peculiar Character of their own, derived from Bengáli. The Dhimul are fifteen thousand in number, and nomadic cultivators, and are Pagan. The Mechee of the annexed Bhutan Dwar have a Dialect of their own, but fast dying out, and superseded by Bengáli. They are quite a separate race. The Rabha dwell in the Gawalpara District, and amount to two thousand families. Dalton describes them as divided into two branches, one of which has conserved its ancient customs, while the latter has adopted the Language and customs of Bengál. This statement is confirmed by an official report of the Commissioner of Kuch-Buhar in 1873, who reports the Rabha as similar to Kachári and Garo and others. Closely allied to the Rabha is the Language of the Pani-Koch, whose villages lie along the skirts of the Garo hills, and who are mixed up with that people and the Rabha. They are Pagan. A doubt exists as to their origin, whether they are unimproved representatives of the Kuch tribe, which has nearly become Hinduised, and lost its Language for Bengáli, or whether it is part of the great Kachári tribe. Dalton seems to think, that they are neither, but a stranger tribe driven at some remote period from the plains by the Aryan invaders. Under Kachári are seven doubtful and undefined Dialects, alluded to by Hodgson. 5. Kúdi. 6. Batar or Bor. 7. Kebrat. 8. Pallah. 9. Ganga. 10. Marahi. 11 Dharel.

Returning to the gorge of the River Brahmaputra, which we cross, we find ourselves in the Khamti country, a tribe which belongs to the Tai Family, and will be noticed

further on. Adjoining them, with their rear on the Patkoi range, are the Singpho, and their connections, the Jili. The latter are described as a small tribe, who formerly occupied the Highlands on the North part of Burma, but were driven forward by the Singpho. The tribe is nearly extinct. Their Language is closely allied to the Singpho, whose Language occupies a transitional position betwixt Tibetan and Burmese. This tribe is but the advance-guard of a much greater horde lying beyond the Patkoi range, known as the Kakhyer or Kaku, mentioned by all writers on the route from Bhamu to Yunan in China. This Language is said to have a Shan Character. They are to a certain extent civilised, but Pagan. It will be more convenient to notice the Kakhyer here, though their habitat is in Independent Burma, near Bhamu on the River Irawaddy, where the trade-route debouches from Yunan. Singpho, or Chingpaw, means merely "a man." A resemblance physical and linguistic is remarked betwixt the Kakhyer and Karen. They are fully described by Anderson and Bigandet. They occupy an important position on the frontier of Burma and China, and we shall know and hear more of them. In the hills above Bhamu they are living in villages, and agriculturists, but low in civilisation.

From this point two courses are open to me: one to follow the line of the Watershed of the basins of the Rivers Irawaddy and Brahmaputra into the territory of the Mupúr-Chittagong Group, which will be described further on; and the other to turn round the arc of the horse-shoe valley, and follow the line of lower hills, which separate the Watershed of the River Brahmaputra from that of its affluent, the Surmá. Those atrocious savages and Pagans, the Naga tribes, occupy this position. The word "Naga," however derived, is but a general term, and comprises a variety of very-distinct tribes, speaking very distinct Languages, and the use of the general term has been a cause of perplexity. Admitting that we still await further information, we may provisionally accept Brown's classification of the Langu-

ages of these tribes into three main classes:—1. The Namsang, with three subdivisions—the Namsang or Jaipuria; the Banpara or Joboka, called also Sibsagur and Abhay-Punja; the Tablung or Mithan and Mulung. 2. The Khari, with four subdivisions—the Khari or Hatigarya; the Nougong or Deka Huning; the Tengsa or Dop Darya; the Lhota or Miklai. 3. The Angami Naga, with four subdivisions—the Angami, Rengma, Arung, and Kutcha. With such a variety of names there is room for much confusion, especially among a people, who have more than once killed the English officer in charge of the District, in which they are understood to reside. Butler, who died at their hands, supplied Vocabularies of their Language and wrote about them. Nathan Brown has supplied Vocabularies of ten forms of speech. They are the most numerous of all the tribes, and their position is most commanding. They have access to the Assam valley, to the district of North Kachar, and to the Munipúr Group. They certainly extend over the Patkoi range into the basin of the Irawaddy, and as far as the Ningthi River, the great West tributary of the Irawaddy. Butler defines their boundary as the Kopili River on the West, and the Bori Dihing on the East, between  $93^{\circ}$  and  $96^{\circ}$  East longitude. Northward they extend to the low hills overlooking the Brahmaputra, between  $23^{\circ}$  and  $27^{\circ}$  North latitude. The Southern boundary is not precisely known. Whether their general name of Naga means “naked,” or “a snake,” or “aboriginal,” is uncertain. The whole population amounts to three hundred thousand. Their Government is a pure democracy. They are Pagan, and bury their dead. The civil officer in charge of them lives at Samaguting, and communicates with them through interpreters.

Next in order along the range, which backs upon the districts of Kachár and Sylhet, we come upon a Language, which belongs to the separate Family of Khasi, which will be noticed further on. We pass on to the Garo tribe, who occupy the extreme point of the range. Their

Language has been thoroughly studied, and translations made into it by American Missionaries for educational purposes. Grammars and Dictionaries are also forthcoming. Keith considers that this Language has Aryan affinities, and the tract is surrounded on three sides by a Hindu-Aryan population. Still they are Pagan, and have only quite lately been brought under entire subjection to the British power. Robinson compares the Language to Tibetan, and a connection with the Kacháris, which has already been noticed, is more than probable.

The last to be noticed of this Group is the Mikir. They amount to twenty-six thousand. They are found in the District of Nougong in the Assam Valley, and in the District of North Kachár, on the other side of the range. They are Pagan. Their name is said to be derived from Mletcha, or "impure." They are peaceable and settled. We have Grammatical Notes and a Vocabulary of their Language. During the course of my inquiries into the Languages of this Group, I have ventured to address the Chief Commissioner of the Province of Assam on the subject of consolidating and extending our knowledge, as an important factor and instrument of the well governing of this most interesting Province. I have been met in the kindest and most obliging manner by the Chief Commissioner, who published my letter in his Official Gazette, and this has already led to communications of both immediate and future importance. A Missionary a few weeks ago visited the Royal Asiatic Society with a Vocabulary of Mikir, which he had been induced by my appeal to publish. I have received other letters from residents of the Valley, expressing readiness to co-operate, and asking for further instructions as to the information required, and the mode in which it was to be presented. I shall have the greatest pleasure in communicating with all inquirers. Robinson, Keith, Brown, and Pryse have shown what can be done with some Languages. Let this be done with all, and then we may hope for some master-mind to rise up, who will deal with the



data thus collected, and, like the prince in the fairy tale, with his linguistic wand, distribute into separate heaps, according to their origin, the confused mass of feathers, bring order out of confusion, and unravel the ethnical mystery brought about by the confused advance and retrogression of savage and ignorant nomads during pre-historic centuries, of which we have no record.

#### IV. MUNIPÚR-CHITTAGONG GROUP.

The Munipúr-Chittagong Group contains twenty-four names, which are ranked as Languages, and several more as Dialects, yet, with the exception of Tipura and Munipúr, these names are but linguistic expressions, which, as far as conveying any distinct and individual idea, might as conveniently have been represented by algebraic signs as by uncouth syllables. Yet they represent facts, and most interesting ones. It was suggested to me to transfer the Chittagong subdivision to the Burma Group, on account of affinity of Languages, but my Groups are based on geographical data, and I have to account for the Watershed, which separates the basins of the Rivers Brahmaputra and the Irawaddy, and to find my way down to the Bay of Bengál. This is the Eastern frontier of the Province of Bengál, of direct Hindu civilisation, and the Brahmanical religion. With small exceptions, the tribes which occupy the tract now under description are Pagan, or some of them at best only semi-Hinduised. Beyond them we find the Buddhist religion to be dominant, and we enter into Further India, or the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, where everything is essentially different.

This tract is unsurveyed, and in many parts has never been traversed by Europeans. In the Lushai expedition of 1871, two forces were despatched to chastise the tribes, whom no arts of peace could deter from continued raids, and one detachment advanced Southward from North Kachár, and the other Northward from Chittagong. Though

the objects of the expedition were gained, so entirely unexplored and unknown was the country, that although from geographical calculations they must have been at one time within forty miles of each other, they could get no information of each other's movements. In preparing the Language-Map I have been unable to indicate the habitat of several tribes, of whose Language we have Vocabularies. Of the twenty-four names, which I now proceed to enumerate, I can identify only thirteen. Here, then, I leave much room for future explorers and linguists.

The Languages are as follows:—1. Muni

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i. 2. Liyang or Koreng or Puoireng. 3. Maring, with a Dialect. 4. Marám. 5. Kupui, with two Dialects, Puiro and Sombu. 6. Tangkhul, with a Northern, Central, and Southern Dialect. 7. Luhupa. 8. Tipura or Mrung. 9. Khungui. 10. Phadung. 11. Champhung. 12. Kupome. 13. Andro. 14. Sengmai. 15. Chai-rel. 16. Takuimi. 17. Anal. 18. Namfau. 19. Kuki, with three Dialects. 20. Shendu, called also Pui or Heuma. 21. Banjógi or Lungkhe. 22. Pankho. 23. Sak or Thak. 24. Kyau.

It would be idle to attempt to particularise the above names, with the exception of a few. The kingdom of Muni

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 is destined to be of importance in the work of civilisation of this frontier. It is under the protection of the Government of British India, and the residence of a European officer. From the reports of M'Culloch we gather all the modern and trustworthy information which we possess, and he and Damant of the Civil Service are understood to be the only Europeans, who know the Muni

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i Language. This, being the stronger tribe, has brought its neighbours into political subjection. We have, in addition to Vocabularies, a Muni

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i Grammar by Damant, who has ready for the press a Muni

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i-English Dictionary, and he has described the peculiar Character, which is a derivative of the Indian. An English-Muni

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i Dictionary has been published, and the New Testament has been

translated into this Language, in the Roman Character. The people are civilised and Hindu. It is also called Kathe or Moitai.

Tipura is a dependency of the Province of Bengál, the inhabitants of which are semi-Hinduised. They have no peculiar Character.

The term "Kuki" seems to have as large a meaning and as great an expansion as Naga. There appear to be four Dialects. 1. Lushai already mentioned. 2. Thadu or New Kuki of North Kachár. 3. Old Kuki of the same district. 4. Hallámi, whose habitat is fixed in the Tipura Hills. Stewart has described the Old and New Kuki of Kachár. One fact seems clear, that they could not understand each other. Lewin is the authority with regard to the Lushai, and has published two valuable works. He explains that the people call themselves "Dzo;" that they have twelve tribes or clans, Howlong, Sylá, and others; but that Lushai is the clan-Language of all; that they never had any Character. They appear to be far from savages, but civilised in the Asiatic sense, and exercising certain arts. They are all Pagan.

The position of this Group is interesting. It presented a debatable ground, which neither the ancient Hindu nor the newer Buddhist civilisation had succeeded in winning from Paganism. At one time the dominant political power of the Burmese seemed on the point of absorbing the territory; but the Christian Government of Anglo-India placed an impassable bar to the further progress of Burma and Buddhism. The consequence has been the extension of the Hindu culture and religion.

#### V. BURMA GROUP.

The Burma Group, though containing only nine names, is of much greater importance than the preceding. It includes the whole of British and Independent Burma, with certain deductions for Tai and Mon enclaves, which will

be noticed further on; and a certain tract beyond the River Salwen, which is presumably in the kingdom of Siam. Beyond the limits of British Burma everything is very uncertain in this Group, for the geography of the upper basin of the River Irawaddy has not been surveyed or explored. The names are:—1. Burmese. 2. Khyeng or Hiou. 3. Kuni or Quaymi. 4. Kami. 5. Mru or Tung Mru. 6. Karén. 7. Kui. 8. Kho. 9. Mu-tse.

It would be presumption to write much upon a Language so well known as Burmese. My object is to place it in its proper position, and indicate its relation to its neighbours. It is a great political and literary Language, with a large admixture of Aryan elements from the Pali, the sacred Language of the Buddhistic religion, which is the religion of the State and people. It uses a peculiar Character derived from the Indian, but by an uncertain channel. It is amply provided with linguistic books. The Bible has been translated into this Language in the Burmese Character. The Burmese nation has been conquering and ambitious, and the Burmese Language will probably absorb its weaker neighbours. The written Language appears to be the same everywhere, but the pronunciation varies in different parts of the Field. Burmese is called Mugh in Chittagong, but the name is of uncertain origin, and given by foreigners: there are three Dialects: Arakanese in Arakan, and there are no less than sixty-four thousand Mahomedan Arakanese by the late Census: Tavoyee or Taneagsari in Tenasserim: a third Dialect called Yo is spoken in the districts North of the Yoma range in Independent Burma.

The Khyeng or Hiou or Shiou are Pagan mountaineers extensively diffused on the Western slope of the Yoma range, settling down to quiet agriculture. Fryer, of the Burmese Civil Commission, has published Grammatical Notes and a Vocabulary. There is no peculiar Character, and no Literature. The Language is in the first stage of Agglutination, and the tones are elaborate. They number

